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INSURRECTION AND RELIGION IN IRELAND.

THERE are times when the severest justice becomes the most gracious mercy. There are moments when tenderness itself impels us to strike the criminal with the swiftest and surest blow that we can aim at his devoted head. There are seasons of peril when liberty herself cries out for bondage, and looks to fetters and a prison as the only safeguards of her existence. Such is the condition of Ireland at this very time. Every man who loves his fellow-creatures—every man who yearns to behold Ireland delivered from the miseries which for centuries have been her bitter portion—every man who abhors tyranny, war, bloodshed, and all the fruitless horrors of insurrection and massacre, rejoices to see that ill-fated land stripped for a while of one of the most precious privileges of a free man, and her eight millions of children placed at the control of a single ruler, who may consign them to the depths of a prison-house by the fiat of his own dictating will.

We are convinced that every Repealer who is not bereft of all sense and common prudence, and who seeks Repeal for the sake of Ireland, must have hailed with joy the announcement of Lord John Russell, that the Habeas Corpus Act must for a while be suspended. None but they who rave they know not what, like Mr. Feargus O'Connor, or whose weakness and timidity of character has paralysed all their energies, can look upon this move of the Government with any thing but the most cordial approbation. If any thing can save that poor, suffering kingdom; if any thing can preserve her religion from the fearful injury which must have been the result of an insurrection; if any thing can give effect to the peace-making efforts of her Bishops and priesthood; if any thing can make Repeal more probable, it is this terrible remedy which Lord Clarendon has called for, and which the Parliament of English, Scotch, and Irish members has granted him with acclamations.

VOL. II.

That the Government should tolerate the proceedings of the clubs, and allow themselves to be taken by the throat, and slaughtered in their beds, was too preposterously absurd for any but one of the unhappy leaders of the rebellious party to suppose for a moment. That Lord Clarendon and the English Ministry should have suffered these ferocious partisans to overthrow the whole fabric of social order, and to bring fire and sword upon their devoted country, none could have hoped, none could have pretended, save those whose minds were so fiercely excited by passion as to have lost all free use of their reason and common forethought. We are only astonished that the Government has waited so long, and has not seized upon some of these bloodthirsty leaders weeks ago. And we augur from their past forbearance, that they will wield the frightful powers now placed in their hands with the utmost possible moderation and prudence, and avoid all needless irritation of a race whose sufferings have been too great not to palliate in some degree even their worst excesses.

Upon the Catholic Church in Ireland must ultimately have fallen the most fearful consequences of any insurrection, whether successful or unsuccessful. Accident, indeed, may seem to have led some few of her clergy to give an apparent countenance to the excesses which have now been long raging in some of her districts. Here and there we may hear of a solitary priest, who, carried away by a constitutional excitability, has forgotten all prudence and moderation, and been blinded to the horrible deductions which would be drawn from his words. But as the overwhelming majority of the Catholic clergy are horror-struck at the prospect of the evils which threaten their unhappy flocks, so there is little doubt that upon them would be poured the blackest stream of suffering and anguish, if the demon of bloodshed were once let loose upon their people. The movement of the insurrectionists is so utterly ungodly and unchristian in its spirit; it is so totally disconnected in essence from any religious doctrine or liberties; and its consequences would bring the priest and his erring flock into such a conflict of duties and passions, that while the sufferings of the Protestant clergy would be sufficiently sad and miserable, their lot would be peace and joy in comparison with the miseries of the Catholic prelates and priesthood. No man can say to what extent an insurrection in Ireland might not alienate the affections of the peasantry from their priests and bishops. No man can pretend to assert that the link which has so honourably distinguished the spiritual relationships of Ireland for generations, might not be snapped asunder for ever, when the frightful excesses of the people compelled their pastors to inflict the severest of spiritual censures, and to warn their people with almost broken hearts of the

destruction they were bringing upon themselves in body and soul.

In our admiration for the eminently religious and Catholic character of the Irish people, let us not forget its peculiarities, or imagine that no perils of the deadliest nature environ the faith of Ireland at the present time. We know how singular and strange is the religion of the people, and how unlike, in certain points, that of any other nation under heaven. No other race of men ever falls into such immoralities as the Irish, without losing its faith at once, and falling into *total* sin and unbelief. It has been acutely said that the Irish are the only real Lutherans in existence, for that they only are able to *have faith without works*. This is a paradoxical and strange-seeming saying, but it expresses a truth which every Catholic priest in these realms knows but too well. None but Irishmen would retain their faith in the melancholy state of sin into which too many of them fall when settled in England, and even when resident on their own soil. An Englishman would turn infidel or atheist with one half of the immorality into which the devil often seduces an Irishman. As a matter of fact, he has so turned in hundreds of thousands of cases. *Our* peasantry, *our* mechanics, *our* gentry have given up their religion altogether, because they have chosen the paths of personal impurity, dishonesty, or pride. England swarms with unbelievers, either in the form of theoretical infidels, or of men and women who have no definite belief in any religious doctrines whatsoever. But not so is it with the Irish. Faith clings to their minds, even while the madness of passion drives them into habitual immorality and the utter neglect of all religious duties. For months they will not hear Mass; for months they will utter lies by the hundred; for months they will swear, drink, and revel in licentiousness; yet let the priest but obtain some opportunity for appealing to their consciences; let him probe the poor sinner's heart with a few cutting words in the hour of sickness or bereavement, and lo! the spark is not yet extinct; the Irishman still, in his rude way, believes; he can be brought back to the God whose authority and whose ministers he has not wholly spurned, even in the hour of his deepest degradation.

But can this last for ever? When a dire necessity drives the priest into a direct opposition to the fanaticism of the day, and he is compelled to take part with those who seem to be the oppressors of his people, who shall ensure the endurance of this mysterious link between the minister of God and his deluded children? Those who know what the Irish now are, when this, their peculiar national characteristic is really gone, tremble and shudder for the result. They who have studied the character of the Irishman in England, when removed from the influences which surrounded him in his own land, will testify that it is possible for him to run into extremes from which he would recoil with horror in all his home-excesses, and which by contrast make the godless Englishman seem to be a virtuous Christian. And such he must inevitably become in his own land were the flames of civil war once kindled in his borders, and his passions roused to that awful vehemence before which the fear of God and the fear of man are alike trampled under foot. Who will *then* guarantee the continuance of the Irishman's faith? Who will say what a horrible flood of immorality and audacious blasphemy may not overspread the whole kingdom wheresoever the fire and the sword are doing their deadly work? Will the pastor's warning voice then be heard? Will it not rather drive the deluded sons of

despair to still fiercer frenzy, and tempt them to cast off *all* that yet binds them to the religion of their fathers, until the ancient stability of Ireland's faith becomes little better than a matter of past history?

There is indeed but too much reason to fear that the purity and firmness of the religion of Ireland is about to enter on a period of severest trial and of most alarming peril. It has resisted the shock of centuries and the attacks of open foes, both of nation and of creed. While England has been bought over to Protestantism, Ireland has neither bartered her faith for gold nor yielded it before the persecution of the oppressor. But now she is called to a new trial; not only are the prevalent ideas of the time so far changed, that it will be the constant effort of every Government, whosoever be in office, to bribe the shepherds of the flock to surrender some portion of their sacred trust to unholy hands, but a deadly peril threatens the peasant, the mechanic, and the shopkeeper from within. Under the plea of political liberty, an utter license in religion begins to set itself in daring opposition to those whose word has hitherto been accounted as a sacred law. An amalgamation of creeds, more detestable than the wildest of contests, is substituting a practical atheism both for Catholicism and Protestantism; the demagogue rules instead of the priest, and the decrees of the war-club take the place of the instructions from the altar. Before this deadly foe let us never forget that the faith of Ireland *may* fall. Bitter as have been her sufferings, heroic her endurance, and constant her faith, she enjoys no prescriptive, indefeasible privilege of exemption from human frailties; she *may* become what she has till now scorned to be; she may give up to the insidious deceiver in her own bosom what neither stripes, nor chains, nor starvation has hitherto torn from her grasp.

Whatsoever, then, may have been the guilt of her past rulers and of a dominant class, and however lamentable it may be to see that Parliament, which can scarcely be brought to give a patient ear to any extensive remedy for her woes, now welcoming with acclamations a suspension of the dearest rights of the free-born man, we cannot but rejoice that *any thing* is done which may strengthen the arm of the law, and prevent the incursion of war and bloodshedding. Any laws are better than anarchy. Any government is better than that which makes a kingdom echo with the yells of frantic multitudes, deaf to the calls of religion, and a prey to their own tumultuous passions. The Repealer and the anti-Repealer alike must welcome any step which, if it cannot prevent the outbreak of insurrection, gives to the Government of the day the power to seize the leaders of the poor multitude, and thus to save thousands and tens of thousands from being hurried on to destruction and death.

ROMAN NEWS.—THE POPE AND HIS MINISTERS.

[From our own Correspondent.]

Rome, July 13, 1848.

ALL parties seem to be of one mind, in thinking the present position of public affairs here rather critical, and the friends of the Pope would not be sorry if matters could really be brought to a practical crisis just at this moment; the Ministers, however, are by no means willing to lose the advantages which their official position affords them for carrying out, as far as possible, their own political views, and seem determined, therefore, under all circumstances, to retain their present appointments. I have been assured, on very good authority, that Mamiani actually addressed a circular to the Bishops in the provinces one day last week, desiring them to preach for the maintenance of public order at home, and at the same time for the immediate enrolment of

soldiers to prosecute the war with vigour; it was added, that the first intimation which the Pope received of this act on the part of his Ministry was by the perusal of two or three of the circulars themselves, which some of the Bishops forwarded to His Holiness by return of post, asking for an explanation of their meaning. That the Ministry are acting wholly independently of the Pope in every thing that concerns the war, was already sufficiently notorious; but it has been again proclaimed to the world, within the last few days, in rather a singular manner, viz. by means of an intercepted despatch from the Cardinal Pro-Secretary of State to the Papal Nuncio at Vienna, which was published in one of the journals in the north of Italy, and then reprinted and sold in Rome for a bajocco. Copies of it also were stuck against the wall, with a promise of a large reward to any one who could interpret it; for the despatch itself was written in cipher: it was accompanied, however, by a ms. note from the Cardinal, in which his Eminence (Cardinal Soglia) reiterates the Pope's earnest desire for peace; warns the Nuncio that he must by no means confound the language of the Ministers with the will of His Holiness, which remains as it had been declared in the Consistory of April 29; and expresses His Holiness's satisfaction with the view of Italian affairs which the English Ambassador was reported to have taken at Vienna. The despatch was dated from Rome about the middle of last month, and was posted at Turin; it seems to have been seized at Milan, but by whom, of course, does not appear.

The *Municipio* have published a declaration, that after the 15th instant they shall no longer employ upon the public works of *beneficenza* any bachelors, widowers without children, or only sons of widows, unless they can produce a certificate from the Minister of War, testifying their unfitness for military duty. This attempt to force them to enlist is much more likely to lead to rioting and violence, and open rebellion, than to swell the ranks of the army; for there is a very strong and general feeling against the continuance of the war. In the country it seems to be universal. A friend of mine, who is just returned from a tour in the hill country near Olevano, Subiaco, Saracinesco, &c. says, that he could not find one individual who was favourable to the war, and that the enthusiasm for the Pope was excessive; not so for the Cardinals, of whose wealth the country people seem to have very foolish and exaggerated notions.

By far the most important event of the past week has been the Pope's answer to the address of the Chamber of Deputies. I have already told you that they had chosen to talk of war, and an Italian Diet, and amendment of the Constitution, and other matters, which the Pope had definitively condemned on previous occasions. He begins his answer, therefore, with a very explicit statement, that he receives their address only so far as it does not depart from the fundamental statute by which the Constitution was granted; he expresses his surprise that they should have debated the subject of war with Austria, when his own determination had been so solemnly declared in the face of the whole world,—a determination by which he was still resolved to abide, and when his envoy was still at the Imperial Court endeavouring to treat for peace; he reminds them that the superintendence of public education, of which they had one day debated, is an inalienable prerogative of the Church; and also, that if it be the duty of the Pope "to pray, to bless, and to pardon" (as they had stated in their address, by way of distinction from any exercise of temporal power, which they professed to believe was now wholly delegated to themselves), so also it was no less his duty to bind and to loose. He exhorts them to manifest the sincerity of that gratitude which they profess, by keeping in all their deliberations strictly within those limits which he had assigned to them; if they do this, they have it in their power to be of infinite service to the state, and he will help them in every possible way; finally, he specifies the maintenance of public order, as a matter of the utmost importance which demands their immediate attention.

This plain-spoken reply is not what the Chamber anticipated, I presume, when nobody could be found to second Professor Orioli's proposition that they should omit these dangerous topics in their first address to the

throne. It now remains to be seen what step they will take next; one would have thought that the Ministry would have resigned, and it was at first reported that such was their intention: rumour now says that they have changed their minds, and that they mean to propose to remove the Government (*i. e.* the Chamber of Deputies) from Rome to Bologna, where they will be rid of the presence of the Pope, and find more sympathy among the people. How this may be I cannot say; here the Chamber of Deputies has certainly made itself unpopular from the exceedingly impractical character of its debates. The *Contemporaneo* lays the blame upon a few obstinate members, who are not satisfied unless they hear their own voices twenty times a day, and waste the time of the House by literary disquisitions upon adverbs, adjectives, and other parts of speech, or by insisting upon the observance of certain tiresome and needless formalities: but *Pasquino*, *Cassandrino*, *la Lanterna Magica*, and the whole host of Punch-like journals, which swarm just now in unusual abundance, and are said to have great weight with the Romans, make no scruple of ridiculing the whole concern, the Chambers, the Ministers, the Municipio, and especially the cry for war. *Pasquino* published a solemn petition, that the Chambers would please to do something, no matter what; *Cassandrino* hopes that he shall be invited, some years hence, to the laying of the first stone of those new houses for the poor, which the Municipio promised to take in hand at the beginning of last winter; and even the *Pallade* (also a facetious paper, but of older standing, and ultra-liberal politics) proposes a series of questions and answers, whose character you may judge from the following specimen:—"What must a man do to ruin his former reputation? Answer. He must become a Minister of State." A few weeks ago such papers as these would not have been seen in Rome; indeed, at that time the vaunted liberty of the press was not badly defined to be the prison-house of the truth; and I doubt whether we should then have seen the Pope's answer to the Deputies. But besides these loose sheets of witticisms, which are eagerly bought in the streets all day long, a new independent journal was started last Saturday (the *Giornale Romano*), and in this the Pope's speech was first printed. Of course you know that the *Gazetta di Roma* is no longer the accredited organ of the Holy See, but is under the immediate control of the Ministry.

The new French Ambassador, the Duc d'Harcourt, has arrived, and was received in the usual way at the Quirinal on Friday, the 7th instant. He attended with his suite, and with other members of the diplomatic corps, and Cardinal Soglia, Secretary of State, at S. Luigi, the French Church, on Monday, when a solemn Requiem Mass was sung for the late Archbishop of Paris. This morning another High Mass was celebrated with great pomp at St. Mary Major's for the same intention; Mass was sung by an Archbishop, Canon of that Basilica, and the Pope himself was present, together with the four Cardinals of the Household (or Palatine Cardinals, as they are called), the Cardinal Vicar, the Bishops assisting at the throne, and many other principal dignitaries of the Church from all parts of the world.

We are enabled to add a verbatim report of the important address of the Pope to the Council of Deputies, to which our correspondent refers:

We accept the expressions of gratitude addressed to us by the Council, and we receive the reply to the speech pronounced in our name by the Cardinal expressly delegated by us for the opening of the two Councils, declaring that we acknowledge it only so far as it does not depart from what has been prescribed in the fundamental statute.

If the Pontiff prays, blesses, and pardons, it is his also to loose and to bind. And if, as Prince, with the intent of better protecting and strengthening the common weal, he subjoins the two Councils to co-operate with him, the Prince must have need of all liberty soever that may be necessary for his action being unparalysed in whatever affects the interests of religion and the state. That liberty we preserve intact, as long as we remain intact, as they ought, the statute, and the law on the Council of Ministers, that we of our own free will recorded.

If large desires multiply for the greatness of the Italian nation, it is needful that the whole world should again know

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that, for our part, war cannot be the means of attaining that end. Our name has been blessed throughout the earth for the first words of peace, which issued from our mouth; assuredly no longer would it be so, if words of war now passed from it. Great was our surprise, then, when we learnt that question had been submitted to the deliberation of the Council, contrary to our public declaration, and at the moment when we had undertaken to negotiate peace. Union between the Princes, good feeling among the nations, of the Peninsula, can alone realise the happiness for which we sigh. This want of concord is such, that we would embrace alike every Italian Prince, that from that fatherly embrace might spring the good feeling that will lead to the accomplishment of the public wish.

Respect for the rights and laws of the Church, and the persuasion which should animate you that the particular greatness of this State depends on the independence of the Sovereign Pontiff, will so influence your deliberations that you will always respect the limits laid down by us in the statute. So will be specially manifested the gratitude we demand of you for the bountiful institutions we have granted.

It is a noble resolution to occupy yourselves with our internal affairs, and we exhort you with all our soul to that course. Commerce and industry should be re-established; and our principal aim, as we are certain will be yours also, will be not to burden, but, on the contrary, to relieve the people. Public order calls for great resources, and it is indispensable to their being obtained, that the Ministry should immediately devote its thoughts and cares to that point. The administration of the public revenue demands numerous and minute precautions. These vital elements attended to, the Government will propose to you such municipal improvements as it deems most useful and most suitable to present circumstances. On the Church, and through her on His Apostles, its Divine Founder conferred the mighty right and imposed the duty of instruction.

Be at concord among yourselves, with the High Council, with us, and with our Ministers. Always remember that Rome is great, not by its temporal dominion, but principally because she is the see of the Catholic religion. We would that this truth was engraven, not on marble, but on the hearts of all those who take part in public affairs; so that each respecting our universal Primacy, none might entertain narrow theories, or even party aims. Whoever possesses exalted sentiments of religion cannot think otherwise. And if you, as we believe you are, be possessed by those truths, you will be noble instruments in God's hand to insure to Rome and the State substantial and solid advantages; the first of which will be the eradication of the seeds of distrust and of the baneful leaven of party.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN NAPLES.

[From our own Correspondent.]

Naples, July 6, 1848.

ARRIVING here just a month ago, I found the city under martial law, having the appearance of a place lately taken by storm; field-pieces constantly pointed against the people from within the iron gratings in front of the Castel Nuovo; a guard around the royal palace upwards of 100 strong, and mounted and foot patrols continually passing in the principal streets. This state of things continued till the 15th, when martial law was suspended, while the people were condescendingly complimented for the good grace with which they had submitted to it. The aspect of *insouciance* and thoughtless gaiety, indeed, which during this period, as now, every where met the eye, would have astonished those unacquainted with the mobility of Italian character. The Toledo, which so lately had been the scene of one of the most sanguinary and deplorable events in modern history, to this day bears the traces of the conflict in walls completely riddled by shot, windows beaten out, cornices and angles shivered by cannon—this very street was already the central stream of gaiety and bustle, hardly deserted at the hottest hours of the day, when in other Italian cities almost the whole population is asleep; and, generally speaking, all the Neapolitan habits of dissipation or business had returned to their accustomed track within a few days after the bloody tragedy.

Yesterday I learnt from the editor of a new journal (*Il Parlamento*) that some reference in its columns to the pernicious influence of the presence of the soldiery in the city having given offence, four or five officers had entered the bureau of the journal, in the daytime, and severely wounded, with sabre-cuts, one of the collaborators and a young man engaged in the printing-office! and this, be it observed, *after* the martial law had been nominally withdrawn. Whatever the morals of the

soldiery, I do not believe the lower classes of Neapolitans to be vicious; they have much native courtesy, and a frankness of manner that prepossesses the stranger, while their vivacity does not degenerate into grossness. Of the event of the 15th May most conflicting accounts are circulated here, and I believe the actual amount of culpability on the part of the King or his Ministers will hardly be brought to light. All that is certain is, that there exists a deep-rooted hatred towards the person, and utter distrust of the future intentions, of Ferdinand II., except on the part of the soldiery, who are devoted to him from the motives of interest, and the *lazzaroni*, lately enriched by the legalised sack of the city, to which they were *en masse* expressly invited. With the above exceptions I believe you could hardly find a Neapolitan who would not assure you that Ferdinand II. is destined to lose his crown, if not his head. Since the conflict the King has rarely shewn himself, and remains like a prisoner of state in his gorgeous palace, commanding the full view of the Bay, from whose shore it is separated only by an intervening suburb of crowded barracks, whilst a royal steamer is continually in readiness for flight. The festival of *Corpus Christi*, celebrated for its magnificence here, was not attended by a single member of the Royal Family, all of whom had formerly walked in the procession, and the ceremonial (otherwise distinguished by the greatest splendour and edifying devotion) was deprived of the character at other times imparted to it by the assistance of the whole military force.

I should say the King of Naples was a weak and untrustworthy, not a cruel or malevolent prince. Those who defend him assert, that all the evils of his reign have been occasioned by his avarice or indolence, but not that his disposition is prone to tyrannical aggressions. Many acts of clemency have given evidence of his humanity of feeling, and in less difficult times he might have been an inoffensive, if not a great king. The hereditary failings of the Bourbon house seem concentrated in him most fatally, as brought to bear on a crisis demanding the talents and virtues in which he is most woefully deficient. The Queen is very unpopular. The Ministerial history of Naples between the 15th May and 1st July has been, as far as the public are informed, a blank. The official *Gazette* continued daily publishing some trivial edicts or Government appointments; now and then giving a feeble leading article on the state of the country, or with the object of disguising the realities which daily become more threatening in the revolted provinces. The repeated embarkation of troops for Calabria during the last month has practically contradicted the assertions of the Government paper, and if the statements in other journals are exaggerated, the broad fact cannot possibly be concealed, that the utmost agitation has prevailed in the southern provinces.

On the very day of the opening of the Chambers, the report was spread that the province of Salerno had risen, and the city fallen entirely into the power of the National Guard; but correct details on these events of proximate occurrence are hardly possible to obtain in Naples, so great is the exaggeration on one hand, the falsification (from opposite motives) on the other. The anxiously expected day of the opening of Parliament (1st July) passed off with an apathy and gloom singularly contrasting with the pomp of official festivity. The most lovely city in Europe appeared the most *triste* on the very day that object was effectually gained, which had been striven for and desiderated so passionately. The public buildings were decorated, the portraits of the King and Queen exhibited under festoons of drapery. At night, the church and piazza of S. Francesco di Paolo were superbly illuminated, as well as other public places; but not a single *viva*, not an expression of satisfaction, was raised during the whole day. The re-established but miserably curtailed and (in the eyes of many) degraded National Guard lined the vestibule and stairs of the Museo Borbonico, in whose library the inauguration took place. The crown and sceptre were placed under a gorgeous canopy, and the Duke Serracapriola read the King's speech in a manner obviously nervous. Its contents you will be already acquainted with—sufficient to say, that they have not tended to allay the universal discontent in the

remotest degree. When the deputies, peers, military, and other authorities entered the Hall in pomp, a well-known Swiss officer was recognised and greeted with cries of "*Fuori, fuori!*" (out, out!) whilst a voice was heard to exclaim "*Assassino!*" At night the Theatre of S. Carlos (closed since the 15th May) was re-opened with a *quintuple* illumination. The performance passed without a single note of applause or otherwise, the boxes empty, and none of the royal family in their gorgeous *loggia*. Scarcely half the kingdom of the Two Sicilies is represented in this Parliament; the number of deputies being so low, that yesterday the required complement of eighty-three not being in attendance, the Chamber could not debate; and I have waited vainly, in the hope of being able to report any thing worthy of note in their proceedings.

I would gladly give you some account of the state of letters and arts here; but, as to the former, politics being all-absorbing, nothing is to be reported, nothing expected, that does not bear on the central interest. A serial work, now in progress, illustrative of the manners of the lower classes in this country, with spirited coloured sketches, is the only new publication, not political, I have yet seen. The competition for pensions, to be awarded to two candidates in each branch of the fine arts, according to the institution of the Kings of Naples, at recurring periods, has been brought forward in the pages of the *Gazette* for some days past.

ROOD-SCREENS.

[WE insert the following paper on this important and interesting subject, in the hope that the question may receive that full and fair discussion which it is desirable that it should undergo, but which has not as yet been given to it in this country. So little has been written upon it, whatever may have been said, that it is probable that many, both of the advocates and of the opponents of the revival of rood-screens, have formed their opinion without a sufficiently matured consideration of the facts and arguments which may be brought forward on both sides of the question. Under these circumstances we shall be happy to give a place in our pages to any communications with which we may be favoured on either side of the question, being convinced that a calm and temperate discussion of its merits will both bring to light many facts and reasonings both for and against their revival, which are not sufficiently known, and which will prove extremely interesting to those who wish to consider the subject in all its bearings.—*Ed. Rambler.*]

MR. RAMBLER,—On what subject can we not quarrel? What topic is there on which we do not, as a matter of fact, fall foul of one another with merciless indignation? There is a saying which implies that the *odium theologicum* is more fierce and bitter than any other hatred to which the world is prone in its disputations; but I venture to conceive, that controversialists are grievously maligned when they are supposed to enjoy a monopoly in the production of controversial acerbities. True it is that they succeed at times *à merveille* in the blackening of their opponents' characters, and in insinuations against the morals and manners of those from whom they differ; but they are far indeed from standing alone in these enviable qualifications, and are, in truth, rivalled by writers and speakers on almost every subject on which the ingenuity of mankind is exercised. The controversial atrocities of Luther, and of other elder disputants, are matched, if not surpassed, by a whole host of German and English annotators, who, in their editions of Greek and Latin classics, have besprinkled one another with the coarsest epithets when handling the *pros* and *cons* for the various readings of a text, or the use of a grave or acute accent. Writers upon political and social economics are often wont to paint their adversaries, when they disagree upon the mysteries of pounds, shillings, and pence, in

colours which befit only pickpockets and burglars. We have met with scribblers upon floriculture, who have bespattered one another with all conceivable varieties of reviling, when discussing the comparative merits of composts, hothouses, manures, and other such stimulating and agitating topics of interest.

So, too, in the realms of art, both secular and sacred, the genius of discord has succeeded in embroiling us with one another with most unfortunate pertinacity. Were we to judge of the motives and principles of individuals by the imputations which have been cast upon them for their opinions in music, in painting, in sculpture, in architecture, we should conclude that there was not a man with a decent character left upon earth; and that musicians, painters, sculptors, architects, and all amateurs into the bargain, ought to be consigned without delay to Newgate or Bedlam, as disturbers of the public peace, promoters of vice and crime, or hair-brained madmen and childish idiots. The records of art teem with stories of the battles of artists and *virtuosi*. Some four or five hundred years ago the world of music was convulsed with disputes as to the use of the "flat or sharp seventh" in the scale; and those who promoted a deviation in one single semitone from the intervals in vogue among their forefathers were denounced as enemies of Christian faith and duty, as secret and dangerous revolutionists, to be avoided by all men of wisdom and piety. In our own day, too, there are those who treat the use of certain modes of musical expression as symptomatic of the most awful aberrations from the principles of sound religion, and in whose ears the words "*Gregorian*" or "*anti-Gregorian*" are suggestive of thoughts of as much horror and dismay as the names of Mahound or Juggernaut.

Then, too, we quarrel and dispute about pictures, statues, and buildings, as if the salvation of the whole human race depended upon certain forms, outlines, and tints of colour. The poet made unquestionably a grievous blunder when he said, "*When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war.*" The true reading should be, "*When Greek meets Goth;*" for then it is that the belligerent propensities of our species are developed in their intensity, and we display all our fierceness, and all our foolishness. What Homer, indeed, shall sing of the dire contests between the patrons of the various schools of art, or describe the battles of the books, reviews, and pamphlets, which have taken place in past generations, or awoke the amazement of the looker-on of our own day? How do we taunt one another with all railing fury, while accusations of Protestantism, ignorance, folly, deafness, blindness, Paganism, superstition, bigotry, frivolity, sensuality, puritanism, priggishness, worldliness, carnality, and almost every enormity which comes within the range of the ten commandments, fly freely about our heads in the heat of the contest, till common sense and simple religion fly scared from the scene of the struggle, and the plain, unimaginative world begins to look upon music and the fine arts as sources of humbug and mischief, to be eschewed by all people of sober minds.

Into this battle-field I almost fear that I am adventuring, when I offer a few remarks and thoughts upon the much-vexed question of the use of rood-screens in churches. I meddle with the subject as those who tremble lest they burn their fingers with hot iron. I know that, for some reason or other, the topic is a most delicate and difficult one in the minds of many persons, and demands peculiar caution lest we do injustice to the sentiments of those from whom we may differ, and provoke opposition and dissatisfaction, without helping any of those who doubt to clear up their own minds, and form a distinct and definite opinion upon the matter. As it is, however, the question can scarcely be avoided; and at the expense of a little temporary turmoil, I trust that I may contribute some little to setting the subject in a clear light before those who are interested in its bearings. Premising, therefore, that if I express my own views fearlessly, and describe those which I oppose as being what I should conceive them to be, it will not be with the faintest imputations against the intentions of those from whom I may disagree, I offer my humble thoughts. How far I may restrain myself within

the just bounds of argumentative decorum, it will be for your readers to judge. Certainly, I have no *intention* of imitating the controversial fierceness which I condemn in others; but having no exclusive privilege for the maintenance of moderation, or for the control of the infirmities of mortal temper, I can only *hope* that I may give no real cause for offence or condemnation.

Every body now knows so well what rood-screens are, that there is no need for my spending much space in describing them. The ecclesiologists of the present generation have taught every one who cares about churches and their furniture, that in the old Gothic churches of this country, and of many parts of the Continent, it was an almost universal custom to separate the chancel from the nave by a partition of wood or stone, more or less closed or open. This custom was based upon, and connected with, the usage of the primitive Church, by which the portion of the building which contained the altar was divided from the main body by a railing—this railing itself being sometimes further enclosed and decorated with hangings or curtains. In mediæval times it further became customary to place above these screens a large figure of our Blessed Lord upon a cross, attended by images of the Blessed Virgin and St. John; whence the whole was termed a *rood-screen*—‘rood’ being the old English term for the crucifix.

In this country we know that few of these screens now remain existing. Here and there, in an obscure country church, an entire screen may be found, reminding the visitor, by its rich carvings, of the splendour of the ornaments of the Church in the ages of our forefathers. In the cathedrals they are universally found, and serve the purpose of an organ gallery, and of a partition of the now useless nave from the chancel into which the congregation is entirely absorbed. The destruction of those which are gone was consequent upon the Reformation in England. Consequent, I say, in *order of time*, but only partially consequent by way of *cause and effect*. The ordinary cry which ecclesiology has raised against Protestantism as the one great audacious destroyer of these ancient partitions, is as groundless as it has been vehement. Unconsciously, I admit, but yet with an entire oversight of the real merits of the case, the advocates of a revival of Gothic architecture have maintained that the charge of the destruction is to be laid *exclusively* to the door of that Puritanism which dashed to pieces the sacred images which towered above the screen, and shattered the glowing windows on which saints and martyrs were depicted in all the glories of ancient glass-painting. The question has been argued with as startling a concealment of the whole truth, as ever yet led logician to a false conclusion upon individually correct premises. In all sincerity, undoubtedly, but likewise in all forgetfulness, a host of ecclesiologists have urged upon us the eminently Catholic character of these screens, and the vast importance of their re-introduction, on the ground that they were banished from the churches only by the fanatics who hated and desecrated every thing that savoured of Rome and Roman doctrines. Catholics and High-Church Protestants alike have urged the question on this delusive idea. From Oxford and Cambridge a host of manifestoes have gone forth, burning with ‘Anglo-Catholic’ fervour against Puritanical Iconoclasm, and in some instances have succeeded in causing the erection of churches for the Anglican service, with deep and spacious chancels, separated from the nave by rich and beautiful screens. The Catholics of England have, in like manner, in some places yielded to the demand; and though occasionally with ill-concealed reluctance, have consented to the revival of the ancient and mediæval practice.

Yet what is the fact, when we survey the history of the last 300 years of the Catholic Church throughout the world? To the utter amazement of those who have accepted the arguments of English ecclesiologists as infallibly correct, it appears that the abolition of screens has been far more universal throughout the Catholic Church than in the Established Church of England. We walk into the Continental churches from Paris to Rome, and, behold, there is scarcely a screen found ex-

isting. Ruthlessly they are most of them swept away, and naught appears save an occasional division of open iron-work, or low railings, some two or three feet high, to separate chancel and sanctuary from the gaze of the assembled multitudes. In Protestant England alone the old fabrics are preserved and restored with religious care. In her cathedrals, now the strongest bulwarks of anti-Roman sentiments, these venerable and beautiful works are found, the admiration of visitors, the boast of Deans and Chapters, and the study of ardent antiquaries and aspiring architects. Whatever be the merits or demerits of screens, the notion that it is Protestantism alone which has destroyed them is a mere baseless assertion, contradicted by the facts of almost all Catholic Christendom. They have vanished before some other potent spirit; before the march of ideas, and the development of instincts, to which the genius of Protestantism is radically and eternally opposed. And they who advocate their revival are bound, in all honesty, to betake themselves to the proof, that the authorities who have abolished them abroad, and the laity who have acquiesced in the abolition, have been guided by misconceptions of the true genius of Catholicism, and have unwittingly enslaved themselves to the customs of those to whom the very names of the Pope and of Rome are an abomination. Strange, surprising, and mysterious as it may be thought, it is an undeniable fact, that the Church, whose glory it is to be ever the same, through all apparent variations in her outward manifestations, has instituted and sanctioned—nay, she has almost enforced—a total change in one of the most important features of the frame-work of her public worship.

I insist the more urgently upon this point, because it is most intimately connected with the ideas upon which the final practical settlement of the question must depend, and because it is one of those distinctive marks of the peculiar character of the Church, which must be recognised in its fullest extent, by both friend and foe, if they would either serve her as zealous children, or assault her as vigorous, yet honest enemies. I therefore again beg your readers to bear in mind this striking truth, that the universal consent of the Catholic Church, during the last 300 years, has pulled down the chancel-screens of almost all the churches in Christendom. They not only form no portion of the designs of the vast multitude of Christian temples which have been raised in Italy, and other parts of the continent, since the revival of classical architecture, but wheresoever they were found existing in the old Lombard or Gothic edifices, they have been, for the most part, taken away, and the whole chancel and sanctuary has been thrown open to the unobstructed eyes of the kneeling congregation. Here is a great, momentous fact, which cannot be met upon antiquarian, or artistic, or national grounds. However much we may admire the fair and delicate traceries, the gorgeous canopies, the solemn statues which adorned the antique screens of our own beloved country; however deeply rooted may be the associations which link them in our minds with all that was most devout and most reverent in ages long gone by; however intimately connected they may appear with the cherished customs and venerable forms of the earliest days of the Church; we must bend our minds to accept facts, as history offers them to our attention, and modify our theories till they account for these facts, without stultifying themselves, and without doing violence to the unchangeable instincts of the religious soul. Thus, and thus only, can we apply to the artistic creations of the Christian spirit that old rule, whose injudicious and superficial application has given a sanction to so many a glaring absurdity. Thus only can the ‘*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*,’ be made a guide to the inquiring mind, and not a mere weapon of controversy, fitted to strike a foe or to wound a friend, according to the skill or awkwardness of the hand that handles it.

Bearing in mind, then, the plain undeniable realities which ecclesiastical annals present to our view, and which meet our eyes wherever our footsteps turn throughout the broad world of Christendom, I shall endeavour to bring forward such a statement of the true theory of rood-screens, as may serve to shew that they ought not by any means to be revived in the Church of the present

day. That the question is one of very great moment I not only admit, but maintain. It involves considerations far higher than any which come within the province of artistic taste or literary archæology. Nay, I believe that it is of more practical moment to the well-being and advancement of the Church, in herself and in her intercourse with the world, than many another similar subject which is apparently of far greater consequence to the development of her hidden and celestial powers. Wherever we turn, in the epoch in which we live, we discern some irrefragable proof of the importance of carrying out that principle which has destroyed these venerated barriers. The voice before which they fell was, I do not doubt, the voice of the living God; it was that very voice which now utters its heavenly accents to mankind in the midst of the storm of conflicting political and social theories; which is making itself heard above the din of battles, breathing into the statesman's and the soldier's ear a solution of all his difficulties, and preparing the way for that readjustment of the relations between the powers of the world and the powers of the Christian Church, which is to be the great characteristic of the wonderful age in which our lot is cast. Other things are involved in this discussion besides a few material fabrics of oak and stone. Other ideas are at work besides the pencil of the artist and the chisel of the sculptor. The archæologist must give place to the Evangelist; the laws of Gothic and Grecian architecture to the living principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The intercourse between the soul of man and his ever-living, ever-present God, and the aspect which the Church, which is His habitation, shall assume towards an opposing or a wondering world; these are the subjects which are involved in the decision to which the present generation shall come, on what may seem at first sight to be a mere matter of architectural fancy or antiquarian revivalism.

The question of the use of rood-screens has, then, two aspects, which may fairly be termed the artistic or architectural, and the liturgical. Both of them, indeed, are essentially theological, for I should hold it shameful to view any subject whatever in which the worship of Almighty God is concerned, from a point which excluded the recognition of its religious influence and bearings. The introduction of all art, in its multiform manifestations, into the Christian temple, ought ever to be accompanied with the most definite and unchanging submission of the mere intellectual taste to the great objects for which the public service of the Most High is instituted. Without such a consecration of all its powers to the purposes of pure religion, its presence in the church is a profanation, and it ought to be banished for ever, as unworthy to intrude into the sacred place.

It has been, indeed, the misfortune of modern times, that the eminently religious uses of which art is capable have been most unhappily overlooked or denied, both by friends and foes. The worldly devotee to the sensual or intellectual charms of art has arrogated to himself too much, in claiming to be heard as an infallible guide in a province in which it is true that a simple devotional spirit might be an insufficient instructor; and the conscientious and devout Christian, whose mind has revolted against the mere secular view of ecclesiastical art, while yet he felt his own personal incompetency to enter the lists with the more cultivated, though irreligious, artist or amateur, has too often yielded the decision of all questions of religious art to a most unholy judgment, or has rushed headlong to a speedy settlement of the matter, to the dismay of all who believe that art, in her highest perfection, is the most worthy handmaid of pure religion. In drawing any such distinction, therefore, between the artistic and the theological grounds on which the use of screens is to be argued, I trust that I may not for a moment be supposed to say that the artistic can be *distinct* from the Christian view; but only that there are certain considerations which must be well weighed, which are intimately connected with the fundamental laws of all art and beauty, while others are *purely* theological, and simply concerned with the truth or falsehood of certain doctrinal or ceremonial statements. In each case the Christian element preponderates; but, in the former, it is associated with the recognised facts and principles of architectural and pictorial excellence and

effect, while, in the latter, we are strictly examining into the doctrines and usages of the Church, as displayed in the rites of Christian worship.

I. Commencing, therefore, with the artistic bearings of rood-screens, the first, though the least important, point which claims attention is, their beauty and appropriateness as an architectural portion of the entire fabric of the church. Here, indeed, little can be said in the way of argument. The question assumes the nature of a matter of taste, feeling, and association, on which little more can be brought forward than a statement of the points under discussion. We can each of us but express our own tastes and feelings, and seek for sympathy, or be prepared for a difference of sentiment, according to the habits of our various minds. In the judgment of many, then, in which I entirely coincide, there is no beauty in the rood-screens of the mediæval Gothic churches. I mean, of course, that there is no beauty in their position in the fabric, and in their relation to its elemental features of design and decoration. Intrinsically they are often most exquisite and charming works of the sculptor's art. From the gorgeous richness of sculptured stone, with its canopies, its statues, its foliage, and the glowing gold and colours with which it was of yore made doubly beautiful, to the light and airy open-work in oak which was found in a thousand varied forms throughout the parish churches of the land; there was scarcely a screen existing which, in itself, was not one of the most admirable results of the refined and finished beauty to which the genius of the old architects gave birth. That these divisions, however, when placed across the chancel arch, are any thing but an injury to the beauty and religious effect of the whole building, I cannot see. They seem thrust in as an after-thought. They cut right across the view, driving the eye of the spectator backwards, and preventing him from realising the full beauty and proportion of the church or the cathedral. Their horizontal lines run harshly against the columns and piers which support the arch above. With that arch they have no connexion; they interfere with its effect; they ruin its proportions. They are, in a word, suggestive of the horizontal character of Greek and Roman architecture, and subversive of the upward, heavenward spirit which is so gloriously characteristic of the pointed style, even in its least perfect varieties. They mark off the more sacred part of the building with such an exaggerated emphasis, that the actual oneness of the whole is interfered with and destroyed. That distinction which should ever mark the spot where the solemn rites of the blessed Eucharist are celebrated, and which is abundantly maintained by the low railings which are now almost universal throughout Christendom, is increased to an extent which, without answering the purpose of that complete enclosure of the altar during the most awful portions of the sacred mysteries which was at times in use in the primitive Church, produces a mere indefinite impression of separation and isolation.

As I have said, however, all this is a question of feeling and almost of fancy. There are those who count a church without a screen to be like a man without an eye, or rather, I should say, without an eyelid. There is many an ardent and intelligent ecclesiologist, who sees so exclusively with the vision of the architects of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that he can discern no beauty in aught that deviates from their rules of construction, and is sensible of a painful sensation of nakedness and desolation, when the altar and all its splendour bursts full upon the sight, as he enters at the western extremity of the building. In these cases there is little room for argument; I can but appeal to an opponent's recognised principles of design, and ask him whether they can be reconciled with the existence of this large horizontal erection, assuming the most prominent position in the building, robbing the noble chancel arch of its proportions, and in no way whatever structurally connected with the arch itself. If, after this, he still dissents, I can say no more, but leave the matter as it is, remembering, in all artistic modesty, that neither of us is architecturally infallible, and that as we cannot agree in taste, we had better be doubly careful to be of one mind in Christian forbearance and charity. And thus I pass on to a second point in the discussion.

II. This second point refers to the very natural question, "Can the solemn functions of the altar be satisfactorily seen by a congregation when a screen intervenes?" However comparatively open in its construction, however carefully designed so as to meet what are supposed to be the prejudices of the time, which insists upon a clear sight of all that goes on in divine worship, can *any* screen be so fashioned as not to operate as a teasing, unwelcome hindrance to the eyes of the devout worshipper, who longs to gaze upon the beauty of the sacred rites, and whose devotion is quickened by the contemplation of the splendour with which the Church delights to honour the presence of her Divine Lord and Master? And here let it be noted carefully, that this question cannot be answered by *both* of the two different and contradictory replies, which are constantly urged when the query is put forward. Those who object to screens, if not acute logicians, are sometimes not a little bewildered to find that they are defended, both *as* excluding sight and *as* not excluding sight. I have rarely met with an advocate of their use who has not unconsciously upheld them on *both* of these grounds, according as he was pressed on one point or on another! First, they are argued for as legitimate successors of those ancient customs of the primitive Church, by which the altar and the priest was completely shrouded from view during a certain part of the holy sacrifice; and then, when the pertinacious modern reiterates his dislike to their revival, and asks why, when so much pains are taken with the ceremonials of religion, the Christian worshipper is not to be edified with the result, the ground of defence is quietly shifted, and it is asserted that no one need complain of Gothic screens, for that they can be made so light and open as to form no obstruction whatever to the sight of the congregation.

Now, in the name of all consistency and logic, let the question be argued on one or on the other of these grounds; both cannot be valid reasons for the revival. Either screens do shut out the sight of the celebrating priest and all the ceremonial of the sanctuary, or they do not. Let us have either antiquity in good earnest, or the nineteenth century in good earnest. Either let it be our aim to revive the middle ages as they were, or to follow the first three centuries of the Christian era as they were, or the last three centuries as they have come down to the men of the present generation. A mere ecclesiastical and architectural eclecticism will never stand the wear and tear of use, even if it escape the searching eye of independent criticism. We must take the whole question, and argue it out on some elementary, legitimate, Christian *principle*; and not endeavour to combine the customs of the first century, the architecture of the fourteenth, and the feelings and needs of the nineteenth, on a mere external view of the theory of Christian worship.

I do not hesitate to say, that so far from thinking that screens can be upheld on *both* of these alleged grounds, I am convinced that neither one nor the other will bear investigation: neither reason appears valid. The screen does *not* enclose the sacred rites from the gaze of the congregation, and yet it *does* prevent them from contemplating them to their edification. It answers neither one purpose nor the other; it is neither primitive nor modern; it subserves neither the object of the most ancient rubric, nor yields to the wishes of the Christians of the day. What purpose it answered in mediæval and earlier times it is not for me to discuss, though I have not the least doubt that it was a genuine expression of the inward life of the Church, as she was then engaged in her divine mission, and with especial reference to her position in the world. We are not called on to justify the architects and clergy of those periods in the changes which they introduced into the regulations of the most ancient ages of Christianity, or to shew that the mediæval screen was as appropriate to the mediæval Church as the entirely enclosed altar was appropriate to the circumstances of the primitive Christians. That both the primitive and mediæval customs were eminently wise and devout methods for fulfilling the heavenly purposes for which the Christian Church is instituted upon earth, I am most firmly convinced; and believe also, that there would be little difficulty in

shewing that the gradual modifications which took place in her architecture and ceremonial regulations, in her progress during the first thousand and fifteen hundred years of her existence, were but the visible embodiments of her divine, inward life, which, amid all outward variations, is ever one and the same. My task is, to make it clear that a revival of the mediæval rood-screen neither restores the actual laws and customs of the primitive Church, nor is adapted to the circumstances and worship of the times in which our own lot is cast.

That it does not *conceal* the celebration of the sacred mysteries from the eyes of the devout and of the profane, must be admitted by every person who possesses the organ of sight. It would be really absurd to pretend that any thing less than the solid stone screens of the sixteenth century, as now remaining in the English Cathedrals, would answer such a purpose as this. Had one of the early Christians been present at the recent opening of St. George's Church in London, and beheld the reporters of the *Times* and other newspapers staring unabashed at the solemn procession, interpreting, by the light of their own profound intelligence, the countenances and the devotional aspect of bishops and clergy, peering with mingled surprise and contempt into the sanctuary, examining the sacred vessels and appurtenances of the altar, watching the progress of the holy rites, till, with irreverent gaze, they looked upon the elevation of the Divine Host, and wondered at the folly of Englishmen in believing in Transubstantiation;—had an Ignatius, a Polycarp, or a Clement been present at this solemn function, and detected the artist of the *Illustrated London News* making his memoranda for a large woodcut to be circulated throughout the land by tens of thousands, displaying the celebrating Prelate bowing down before the altar, and attracting the notice of a vast multitude of readers to the consideration of the mysteries of the Church in their unconcealed solemnity—had these venerated Saints returned for a moment from their abodes of bliss, and meditated upon the novel sight, would they have recognised, in the open screen-work, a sufficient protection of the awful rites from the eager gaze of the mere sight-seeing Catholic, and from the jeers and mockings of the scoffer and the infidel? Surely, when these are our modern recognised ideas of action; when we call upon the world to look into the doctrines of the Church; when we perhaps invite that species of being who is most characteristic of the 19th century—the newspaper reporter—to tell mankind how we worship the Almighty; it is too much to pretend that we are reviving the *principles* of other days, however much we may imitate a few of their external customs, and carve our stone and paint our walls with a painstaking subservience to their rules of architecture. Any thing more utterly unlike in circumstances, however identical in *spirit*, than a Catholic consecration of these days, and a consecration of the thirteenth, or a simple celebration of the Eucharistic Sacrifice in the first century, we may challenge the imagination to conceive. We need not hesitate, then, to assert, that the idea that, while things exist as they are, the erection of screens is sufficient to produce a deep, reverential awe for the holy mysteries of the altar, and would be so accounted by the Primitive Christians, is a groundless hope, and contradicted by the facts which meet us every day that we live.

III. Yet the screen is sufficient to serve as a hindrance to the devout contemplations of the pious worshipper. It teases and frets the sight, tantalising us with a half display, until, at last, for very weariness in endeavouring to see the progress of the solemn ceremonial, we turn away in despair, and altogether give up the idea. It is useless to argue that because the literal physical obstacles to the vision are small, therefore they do not act as a practical hindrance. We cannot take the laws of human sight, and decide upon what is necessary for its action by a rule and compasses. It is vain to allege, because the wood-work or the stone mullions of a screen are only so many inches thick, while the space between them is three or four times as large, that therefore the spectator can see well what is beyond this partition. We all know by experience, that the existence of any obstacle whatever between ourselves and the objects at which we look, is

sufficient to prevent our deriving any perfect satisfaction from the view. Half-a-dozen narrow lines drawn across a picture utterly destroys its effect upon us. Nobody would ever think of looking at a landscape from the middle of a room, when even the light wooden frame-work of a window obstructed his view. We cannot separate that which is behind from that which intervenes. The sight is fretted, fidgetted, and tried beyond endurance. The physical contraction and dilation of the eye itself, which the effort induces, is painful, and cannot be kept up for a length of time. Every thing we look at, whether landscape, picture, or group of persons, must be contemplated as a whole; and any thing whatever, which, by coming between us and the object of sight, distracts the action of the eyes, will nullify the whole, and turns what might be a pleasure into a pain.

Especially is this the case when the group moves, and the intervening obstacle remains fixed. There is then introduced an additional element of confusion and ocular annoyance. We cannot watch the celebrating priest without finding our sight crossed by a piece of oaken or stone tracery. Just, perhaps, when we are most deeply engaged in the contemplation, a slight movement of the persons whom we watch throws us all out again, obscures a totally different portion of their countenances or figures, and necessitates a fresh corresponding movement on our own part; until a feeling of restlessness, most alien to devotion and meditation, takes possession of the mind, and we close our eyes for very weariness and fatigue.

Whatever be the conclusions of unpractical theories, the experience of those who have not devoted themselves to a complete revival of mediæval customs is found to be almost invariably on the opposite side. When a man tells me that he cannot watch the solemn functions with any ease or comfort through any kind of a screen, it is not for me to come down upon him, and tell him that a certain mullion is only three inches thick, and that three-fourths of the chancel-arch is thus left physically open. He cannot change the laws of light and vision, in accordance with the demands of archæology. His eye is so formed by its Divine Creator, that it must view every scene as a whole, without abstracting that which is behind from that which is before. The very law which gives such a glorious splendour to the old Gothic windows, *through the skilful juxtaposition of certain colours*, compels the eye to contemplate the inner ceremonial and the outer screen as one single thing. Not until a blue tint, when placed close to a red, produces the same impression on the sight as a blue when accompanied by a green, will the organs of vision be able to dissociate the moving figures in the sanctuary from the motionless panelling and imagery of the rood-screen. We cannot look *through* the screen at the ceremonial unless we are placed quite close to the former. We must make the screen a part of the ministering ecclesiastical body, or be content to renounce all participation in the enjoyment of the splendours and beauties of Divine worship.

Such a result at the present time, and in conjunction with the efforts which the Church is making to increase the beauty of the Lord's house, to adorn her altars, to deck her priests in the vestments of beauty, to express her veneration for her Lord by every token of affection and reverence, from the flower of the garden and the burning taper to the costly jewel and the burnished gold, I must confess appears to me the very reverse of desirable or wise. It strikes me as the most inexplicable of inconsistencies, that while we are doing every thing that we can devise to attract the minds of all men by the splendours of ecclesiastical art, and by the revival of the most elaborate functions of the Church, we should at the same time erect in our churches a most formidable obstacle to the sight of what we have accomplished, and tantalise mankind by calling them to see what we refuse to display. Either let us admit that the object of an elaborate religious ceremonial is not to express the entire and constant devotion of the Christian heart to its Lord and Saviour, or let us not make it almost impossible for the majority of Christians to participate in its delights, and to take part, in spirit at least, in its details. If a gorgeous sanctuary, a carved

and painted chancel, an altar resplendent with gold and jewelry, a priesthood clothed in the richest works of the loom and the needle, a function accompanied with clouds of incense, and blazing lights, and white-robed ministers—if these things be such as we should devote ourselves to attain in every church in the kingdom, surely we are but undoing the work of our hands, when, for the sake of a theory, we practically nullify all we have accomplished, and render a High Mass partially invisible to a congregation.

Whatever may have been the grounds on which the use of screens was justifiable in earlier days, it remains to be shewn that the present circumstances of the Church are the same as they were in those times, before it can be believed that it is the part of a man of sense and wisdom to revive all their customs and architectural regulations. It must be shewn that the Church in England is now in the same position towards her children, and towards those who reject her creed, as she held in the middle ages, before the habits of those ages can be held up for our indiscriminate imitation. Unless our circumstances are identical, a rigid enforcement of outward acts may prove the most baneful and suicidal of delusions.

That the Church now is in such similar circumstances, is, I need hardly say, too monstrous an absurdity to be maintained for a moment. The state of society, both spiritual and secular, in which we find ourselves, has scarcely a single feature in common with that of our forefathers of six hundred years ago. We might as well bid the sun go backwards in his course, or command the rivers to flow away from the ocean, as attempt to restore England to its ancient faith, by treating the nineteenth century as the Church treated the thirteenth. We cannot undo the past. When the Church is eighteen hundred years old she cannot be young again at her own wish or fancy. Divine Providence, and our own sins and virtues, have placed us in circumstances radically different from those in which our fathers were, and it is a mere trifling and playing with sacred things to pledge ourselves to restore the usages of those olden days without reference to their applicability to our own. As well might the man of middle life attempt the sports and pastimes of the child, or the grey head deck itself in the garb of lively youth. When feudalism and barbarism are brought back again; when the Church is placed in her former relation to the world; when there is no more Protestantism in existence, and the land is filled with churches, abbeys, and convents; when the printing press is abolished, and there are no more newspapers, magazines, and reviews; when there is no House of Lords and House of Commons to discuss theology alternately with sugar, ships, partridges, and protocols; in a word, when no living being in the three kingdoms continues to be what he now is, then may we advocate a complete revival of the usages of the mediæval Church as a fitting expression for ourselves of the eternal, unchanging, essential faith and duties of the Christian mind. But until then, I venture to maintain that the use of screens runs counter to that mode of action to which the Church has already practically devoted herself, and that on every theologico-artistic ground, their revival is undesirable amongst us. The purely liturgical objections which I shall be so bold as to urge, I must defer until your next number. X.

SUPPRESSED ARTICLE ON MINISTERIAL POLICY IN IRELAND.

[Concluded from p. 273.]

On the 13th of February, 1844, Lord John Russell had thus expressed himself:—

“And when the ministers of the crown now in office shrink from the responsibility of maintaining the doctrines which they maintained when in opposition, and of hazarding the peace of Ireland by a most flagrant violation of Parliamentary faith; when they shrink from this, and propose other measures instead, I say I have no confidence to wait until those measures shall be ready to be discussed. . . .

“It is more than half a century since a state of outrage and calamity so general as prevails now in Ireland existed there. Let no one think by a single act of parliament to eradicate all the evil consequences naturally flowing from a long course of

misgovernment. Having now detained the House at such length, I will not go into further detail as to the various complaints and grievances, which, if the House gives me the committee I ask for, it will be necessary to take into consideration, and which it will be necessary for Parliament to legislate upon, before it can hope to remove the disorders which are now complained of in that country. I wish, however, to state to you the sentiments of a great statesman, speaking, after the union with Ireland had been carried, as to the spirit in which the government of that country should thereafter be administered, and the warning and advice contained in which remarks are but too applicable to the present state of things. In answer to the allegation that the Irish were disaffected to this country, and that a law was necessary to repress treason, Mr. Fox uttered these words:—

“If it be true, as they allege, that treason has tainted the people to the bone; if the poison of Jacobinism, as they call it, pervade the whole mind of the multitude; if disloyalty be so rooted and universal that military despotism can alone make the country habitable, it would be against the experience of the world that such a wide and deadly disaffection could, or ever did, exist in any nation on the globe, except from the faults of its governors. To this country, too,—to England, what a contradiction in the conduct of these hon. gentlemen to their professions! This nation was to reap marvellous blessings by the union, but of what benefit is the junction of four or five millions of traitors? Such the laws proposed by these hon. gentlemen tell you the Irish are; but such, I tell you, they are not. A grosser outrage upon truth, a greater libel upon a generous people, never before was uttered or insinuated. They who can find reason for all this in any supposed depravity of the Irish, totally misunderstand their character. Sir, I love the Irish nation. I know much of Ireland from having seen it; I know more from friendship with private individuals. The Irish may have their faults, like others. They may have a quick feeling of injury, and not be very patient under it; but I do affirm, that, of all their characteristics, there is not one feeling more predominant in every class of the country, from the highest to the lowest order, than gratitude for benefactions, and sensibility to kindness. Change your system towards that country, and you will find them another sort of men. Let impartiality, justice, and clemency take place of prejudice, oppression, and vengeance, and you will not want the aid of martial law, or the aid of military execution.”

“Such were the sentiments of Mr. Fox. Such was his advice to the Commons of this country. Let us hope that this advice may not be lost. He has long been in the grave; he lies in that receptacle near us, where the remains of the greatest men of all ages have been consigned—

‘At non in parvâ manes jacuere favillâ,
Nec cinis exiguus tantam compescuit umbram.’

The words of Mr. Fox must remain to all time to animate all those who attempt to speak in this House in behalf of the oppressed of whatever class or nation; but they will serve especially to animate those who speak in behalf of oppressed Irishmen, when they declare that such a man, loving Ireland as he did, knew only of one way to win the affections of its people. The House has now the opportunity—a late one certainly, but still sufficiently in time—when it may realise and carry into effect that which Mr. Fox said was the true policy which this country should adopt in regard to Ireland, after it had been united to us in legislative union. I will refer now to the statement of an author of great genius and celebrity, in respect to another country, in which great disorder and turbulence and unhappiness prevailed for a long time after it had been united by statute to this country. It is an observation made in regard to Scotland, by one of her sons who loved her well—I mean Sir Walter Scott. It is related by Sir Walter Scott, that when George III. came to the throne, the people of Scotland looked upon their young Sovereign, and expected under him all the harsh and rancorous policy which had occurred in the reigns of his predecessors. An officer having been proposed to him for a commission in his Majesty’s army, it was reported to him that this gentleman had fought in behalf of the Pretender, in whose service he had signalised himself by many acts of valour and devotion. The King replied: ‘Has this gentleman really fought so well against me? Then, believe me, he will fight as well in my cause.’ On this speech being reported through the highlands of Scotland, it produced an immediate and wonderful effect. The brave men of these northern regions still thought, as they had declared at every hazard, that the house of Stuart was the rightful claimant to the throne. Yet, from that moment, there was not one who would not lay down his life for a Sovereign who had thus opened his arms to receive them. We have now a Queen on the throne of these realms, in the time of whose grandfather many acts of severity, of partiality, and of intrigue were perpetrated; many deplorable scenes of civil conflict enacted in Ireland; martial law was established to repress revolt, and the

people were agitated by many impracticable notions in opposition, as they considered, to the policy of their oppressors; and a rebellion burst out by which the whole state of society was thrown into the most lamentable state of disorganisation. The present Sovereign of these realms is young, as George III. was when he came to the throne. She is separated from the memory of all those calamities. Why should not the present Queen reign over the hearts of the Irish people? and however they may lean to repeal of the union as an abstraction—as the Highlanders entertained an abstract notion of the rights of the Stuarts—the real practical benefits of equal rule and impartial justice, and the affection of her Majesty for all her subjects, would unite them to her in indissoluble allegiance. What is it that prevents such a happy consummation? Not, I will undertake to say, the wishes of the Sovereign; for that Sovereign I have served, and a Sovereign more anxious for the benefit and happiness of her people, it would be impossible for any minister to serve. Never did I receive, when I was Secretary of State for the Home Department, any instructions from that Sovereign but such as bespoke an equal regard for all her Irish subjects—for Protestants, for Catholics, and for Presbyterians. What is it, then, again I ask, that stands between Ireland and such a desirable consummation as that which took place in regard to Scotland many years ago, and under the effect of which that country has become a happy and prosperous brother of England? Will this House stand between Ireland and her happiness? If the House do so decide, it will indeed be taking a serious responsibility upon itself. The effect of that resolution will be to expose the country for many years to the evils of an arbitrary and precarious dominion over Ireland, and of diminished powers and influence as regards foreign nations; but if, on the other hand, rising above such prejudices as have too long had influence in the direction of these matters, you firmly desire to give practical efficacy to the union between the two countries, and to knit together the hearts of her Majesty’s subjects, and throwing aside the terrors of military array, and all the intricacies and quibbles of prosecutions, relying only on your own hearts and theirs, you will give the people of Ireland the glorious inheritance of English freedom, I will venture to say that, in the experience of that policy, the hopes of this House will not be disappointed.”

Now, as our object is far more to exhibit the feelings and opinions of others than our own, and to push on a “loitering” Government to the bold performance of a great duty, a duty as we have just seen so lately and so energetically inculcated, the only commentary we will make on this remarkable and most apt and seasonable speech, is to transcribe a few passages from two very able articles in a very popular journal.

“There seems to be, for the moment,” says the *Weekly Dispatch*, of the 11th of June, “that lull, that pause in the storm, which would enable any Irishman of genius, courage, and, above all, unselfishness, to stand forward and save his country. The conviction of Mitchell has, at all events, given breathing-time. The Confederates put out a very general and ambiguous manifesto, intended, no doubt, to save their honour, and excuse their present inaction. At another time we might be inclined to criticise their personal motives in so doing; just now we would much rather accept the benefit of the course they take, and use it for the good of all. We will leave it to the *Times* to exult over the fallen, to endeavour to rouse again the spirit of rebellion by taunt and exasperation, to raise a false point of honour which shall render it impossible for the Irish leaders to go back through the fear of imputed cowardice. We were quite right when we attacked the felon character which the Attorney-General boasted his Gagging Bill would give to the political offenders convicted under it. What has this stigma accomplished beyond provoking a howl of indignation, beyond making the Irish malcontents adopt the title of felons, as the Dutch once did that of beggars (*gueux*), when their Spanish masters called them so in derision? On the contrary, all the treatment which Mitchell has, as it is said, received since his judgment, that treatment which separates him from the class of felons, and is applied to what he is, a dangerous, wrong-headed, and mischievous enthusiast, is precisely that which commands instant approval, and strengthens most deservedly the case of the Government. Whatever is passionate and vindictive in any Executive, or its supporters, is hateful; all that is moderate, is wise, and accumulates strength. The *Times* dares to revive its former sophistry on the matter of the Mitchell jury, by congratulating us that the Sheriff and the Attorney-General allowed ‘no traitor’ to be put in the box. Now we think it just as useful that Mitchell should be removed from the sphere of his baneful influence as the *Times* can do; but we will never adopt, as it has done, the Jesuitical plea, that the end justifies the means. Morality and policy call such reasoning contemptible. We should have been willing to leave the past to itself, as being, at best, a very sad necessity, but for this renewed epithet of ‘traitors’ cast on the entire body of the Roman Catholic jurors of Dublin. Are the large majority

of the population of the Irish capital, qualified to take the office of jurymen, traitors? The thing is a simple impossibility, which, for every reason, it is best to avoid urging. It is an accusation which recoils much more fearfully than it strikes. It will not do for us to abuse the Irish, to say that they have no right to decision or opinion in their own case. We cannot safely or decently beard their real majority. They will tell us that the treason is against them. Having won a moment's peace, let us, at least, use it wisely and temperately. All parties in Parliamentary discussion are exceedingly fond of saying, 'the law must first be vindicated, and then we will redress.' The law is vindicated; its opponents do not, at the moment, threaten it: take their cause out of their hands. We go far beyond this weakly-proud Parliamentary policy; we would put the law indisputably in the right first, and then claim obedience to it; but let those who are too conceited to be in the wrong, act on their own principle. The Queen, it is understood, is about to visit Ireland. This we first suggested, and, of course, most warmly approve. Let her, whom the immense majority even of the Repealers are accustomed to proclaim as the indissoluble link between the two nations, go as the harbinger of redress and peace. There will be no blame to her if her ministry will not suffer her to be the herald of perfect equality to the Catholics. As far as her constitutional functions permit, she will prove her sympathy with Ireland by dwelling there a while, by approving and encouraging the lovers of their country, and by discountenancing and putting to shame the selfish and profligate, who suck its blood. But if the ministry wish to do their duty to the Queen, to Ireland, to Great Britain, let them then promise to the people the utter abolition of that disgraceful inequality which all Europe now proclaims, which all future history must proclaim, as the most wanton and unstatesmanlike cruelty of this age, as the most fatal and gratuitous cause of discord which has ever been suffered to exist between two united nations, to the political and social destruction of one, and the bitterest annoyance and deepest injury of the other; a war-cry which is allowed to exist solely by a cowardly deference to class-interests, by the vile subservience of our two political factions to zealots whom they despise, and in whose inquisition they are yet content to accept the hateful office of familiars. When, in the times of agrarian outrage, we have said fearlessly and constantly, the cause of feud is a religious one, that is, the religious inequality is the foundation of all the evil, we have been met with sneers. Who will deny our assertion now? Mitchell is, we believe, a Presbyterian, but there are the 4600 Catholic jurymen of Dublin, all excluded from the trial of his offence. The principle oozes through every pore; it is the life of the almost combatant faction. *Abolish the supremacy of the Anglican Church, repeal will be lost for ever.* It may be the bawling stock of a few ambitious, dissatisfied egotists, but the orators will want hearers; the pike-distributors will want troops. There are other great evils to redress, but to remove this is the natural beginning, the pledge of right, the dawn of peace. England and Ireland can then fight side by side, and trustingly, against landlordism and the evils that beset both alike. A word to Mr. Smith O'Brien and his friends. Could we believe that the legacy left by John Mitchell, of continued feud, eternal defiance, felony, and conviction were anything but the heated bravado of the moment, we should class his insanity among the madnesses of the most demoniac malice. It would be an infernal behest to a country too prone to admire and follow him. He has, in his own person, done quite enough by way of protest. If his rash injunction were followed, the more bitter would be his own remorse when he might hear of its effects in the solitude of his exile, reflecting more temperately on his own previous rashness and its fruits. Suppose the men who have talked of following his example could incite civil war; suppose that there were many of their dupes mad enough to glory in its perils and sufferings, how many wretched creatures throughout the land—old men, women, and little children—would be its victims, poor things! incapable of comprehending the least notion of the cause for which they might be butchered: thrust from shelter, starved, destroyed by all the agonies which pitiless civil war inflicts! Where is the heroism or the intellect which, in this age, can find no better weapon than such destruction, no more Christian sacrifice than this desolation? Mr. Smith O'Brien can see the difference, we presume, between a Lamartine and a Russell, or an Ernest Jones. Lamartine did not even provoke revolution; he accepted it; he obeyed it, served it truly, and most truly in keeping it pure from blood. Who, then, will take up the right cause of the pacification of Ireland, along with the redress of her wrongs? There is a body that might. Let the Catholic priesthood, from one end of the island to the other, come forward with the cry of 'Peace.' Let them silence all their opponents, put slander to the blush by serving their country now in its greatest need. Let them win the full emancipation of their Church by the honour men will be ready to pay themselves. Let them not bargain, or act with any reservation. Let them shew how

Christian they are in 'heaping coals of fire' on their enemies' heads by forgiveness and by help. They may trust to the world's verdict on such an act. Some of them we have attacked and exposed; we are not aware that over others we have any influence; but we know that one true, earnest, conscientious friend of Ireland, with power and position enough to lead any such movement, reads our columns; and knowing that he is anxious only to find out what will best serve that distracted and unhappy land, we ask his attention to our remarks, and his help in the good office we are endeavouring to render."

"Warning after warning the Sibyl gives. Day after day she comes to us with fewer books to sell, and a larger price to ask. Scroll after scroll of the history of human fate is tossed into the funeral pile of the past, shrivelling and crackling in the flame, unread and unheeded by the very nations whose futurity they predicate. History has ceased to be philosophy teaching by example—or, at least, if she does teach, it would seem that, like wisdom, 'she crieth in the streets, and no man regardeth her.' The crater is not yet extinct. The volcano vomits lava from its many mouths, and may yet bury Europe as Vesuvius did Pompeii. . . . The pillars even of our own solid empire have been shaken. The 10th of April, like the Ides of March, has come, but its effects have not yet gone. Nay, it almost seems as if it were only now that they were beginning to develop themselves. Without placard, advertisement, beacon-fire, or any of the ordinary means of producing combined action, simultaneous disorderly assemblages of the rabble have been held in many of the disaffected districts, creating feelings of insecurity which paralyse trade and destroy the employment of industry. Organised mobs are drilled into the measured tread of military array, and habituated, by little and little, to encounter the constabulary, and to contemplate the future practicability of braving the bearers of even more lethal weapons. Not only classified, but armed, some with knives, others with pikes and pistols, and many, it is said, with swords, they do not even wait for aggression of constituted authority, but have, at last, ventured to act on the offensive. The mask of Chartism, for which the pure Milesians never had any genuine sympathy, is now at last thrown off. At Bethnal Green and at Holborn, as at Limerick and Mullaghmast—the Sabbath, the most convenient time for Roman Catholics to be seen

may need for these experimental *émeutes*, and the rioters pretty distinctly tell us that they are Irish Confederates seeking to revenge Mitchell's deportation, and to effect a repeal of the union. In Ireland itself, we think it would be unwise for any prudent citizen not to look a civil war steadily in the face. The proclamation of the leaders of the Confederation leaves nobody in doubt as to their present position and future designs. The Government has failed in two prosecutions out of three, and with perfect readiness to admit that the verdict against Mitchell was the only one which, according to the law and the evidence, the jury, by their oaths, could return without manifest perjury, it is not to be concealed that the Executive only gained the game by playing with loaded dice, and that the 'pious fraud' being now discovered, any further advantage from that plan of political gambling will be as hopeless as the procuring a verdict without it. It is our decided opinion that the Irish Confederation are committing felony, openly and advisedly, from a thorough knowledge of their perfect safety in the hands of any Dublin jury which it will now be possible to impanel. We do not think there is the slightest chance of another Castle victory. When grave old philosophical Unitarians, like Holmes, can get their own steam up to such a pitch of enthusiastic patriotism as he exhibited in his oration for Mitchell—when men of substance and respectability can so take leave of their prudence, and elope with their sentiments and passions, as to be prepared to fill all the jails in Ireland, so as to drive the Executive to enter upon the task of attempting to realise Burke's predicted impossibility, of bringing an indictment against a whole nation—it seems to us that the only alternative left is civil war, or the concession of Repeal of the Union. Let us not be blind to what we see around us. In Richmond parish 300 Irish paupers are relieved every week; in Brentford, 3000; in Marylebone, 7000; in Liverpool, 10,000; in the metropolis, about 20,000. In connexion with the projected coalition between the Confederation and Conciliation Hall, backed by the entire body of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, with the 'open and advised speaking' which, as its statutory danger increases, seems to attract to the committal of its felony a greater number of enthusiastic martyrs, and with these simultaneous meetings and tumultuous gatherings in England, for the obvious purpose of distracting the constabulary and military forces, and dissipating their strength of combination, this enormous influx of Hibernian vagrants ought not to be overlooked. It has been avowed again and again at recent ostensibly Chartist meetings in the metropolis and the provincial great towns, that if Mitchell and his confederates were deported, all the Irishmen in England would rise the moment the signal for civil war was given from Dublin. The crisis seems near its accomplishment. We believe the Eng-

Irish rabble, i.e. pickpockets, thieves, and vagrants, are organised and fed with Confederation, perhaps with Continental and American, money. We see that Irish regiments in Scotland and Ireland are exhibiting scarcely equivocal signs of disaffection, and it is whispered that there is an inconveniently large proportion of the English constabulary force of Milesian origin and Confederation sympathies. The question is beginning more and more to meet with a more hesitating reply in the English mind, whether the Union is worth the danger and cost we incur for it; and we are not sure that the day is so far distant when a state necessity, more imperious than the most politic theories, and the most logical views of abstract fitness, may not overbear all the objections to Repeal, and introduce once more on the theatre of Government, Sir Robert Peel, to swallow his chief difficulty, by granting separation literally to preserve connexion. . . . Reform is as contagious as revolution. If Ireland had its own parliament, College Green would soon be the theatre of vast legislative changes and progressive improvements, which would inevitably act with great influence on public opinion in England. . . . Any thing is better than our present state of uncertainty, suspense, disorder, and threatening social confusion. No man speculates. Scarcely any man trades. There is plenty of money, but scarcely any credit or discounts. Employment is discouraged, and capital is lying unproductive, that it may not be employed in what may never yield the return even of the principal. In the presence of the promise of an abundant European harvest, and the assurance of an amount of agricultural surplus from America, such as never was even approached in quantity, when, other things being equal, universal comfort and contentment should prevail, the bad passions of mankind, and the incompetency of rulers to the task of government, are frustrating and neutralising all the bounties of nature, and the kind dispositions of Providence. 'Something must be done.' Rather cut Ireland adrift than let her drag us down with her to the deeps."

Yes! "something must be done"—but that "something" will be worse than nothing unless it be a strong unflinching effort on the part of those to whom the reins of government have been entrusted, to carry out in Ireland in '48 what these same men—Lord John Russell and his colleagues—so earnestly insisted on in '44. Principles and professions are mere "sounding brass and tinkling cymbals" unless reduced to practice; nor should the master so presume either upon the short memory of his pupils, or upon the strength of his own reputation, as to unteach one day what he had taught upon another. The minister makes his own difficulty by mistrusting his own convictions. Confidence, rectitude, and a high sense of duty and responsibility, should arm his courage. The enemy must be overcome by a bold resolve to conquer. The fate of an empire hangs upon his decision. Let him but display the same dignified resolution in the prosecution of this great cause as he so lately exhibited in that eminently difficult and tortuous question, in which the spiritual supremacy of the crown was vindicated over a rebellious Church; and as he is now again employing in a wise endeavour to extend the full benefits of the constitution to a hitherto oppressed and degraded class, and the game of sedition is up. Should he fail in the attempt—should the victory for the time remain on the side of bigotry and folly, it would at least be "the beginning of the end"—the opening of a new and more brilliant campaign for the coming season. He has only to declare himself the leader of the Reform movement; and while he conducts that to a safe and successful issue, also to achieve the most noble conquest which can ever adorn the annals of an administration—the pacification of a whole people.

That there may be no mistake as to the meaning we attach to the views and opinions then so eloquently enforced, we will briefly enumerate them in so many distinct propositions.

1. A fair and equitable re-distribution of the property of the Established Church in Ireland.
2. A fixed grant during five consecutive years of some 20,000*l.* a-year towards the erection, repair, or enlargement of Catholic places of divine worship; not so much as a small though just retribution for past spoliation, but as a token of goodwill, as a pledge of a Government of opinion, and as a means of civilisation amongst a people in very many cases with an extreme insufficiency of church-accommodation, and in several without any.
3. The abolition of all legislative restrictions upon the religious orders, as wholly inconsistent with the civil rights of the subjects of a free state.
4. A considerable increase in the grant for educational

* Cordially and sincerely as we dissent from some of its principles, both religious and political, yet we prefer quoting from the *Weekly Dispatch*, both on account of the singular fairness and honesty of its advocacy, the spirit of justice with which it has ever espoused the cause of Catholic Ireland, the great ability with which it is conducted, and its immense circulation amongst the people, and therefore as an indication of their sentiments and feelings.

purposes, more particularly applicable to agricultural institutions.

5. The fairest tenant-right law that can be devised.

6. Considerable amendments in both the principle and practice of the Poor-law, facilitating the distribution of out-door relief, and giving the poor the same positive legal rights as in England.

7. A liberal extension of the suffrage, not only in the counties, but also in the boroughs.

8. The right to send some twenty additional members to the House of Commons.

9. A perfect equalisation of all corporate and municipal rights to those of England.

10. The conversion of Trinity College into a National University on the plan of the New Colleges.

11. The enactment of laws to facilitate the transfer and improvement of waste lands, and encumbered estates, and estates in Chancery.

12. Due encouragement to the construction of railroads and to the deep-sea fisheries.

These once conceded, "the difficulty" of every successive administration will be conquered, a due measure of reform will come at home, and the peace, strength, and security of the empire will be consolidated and confirmed. But if this consummation be not vouchsafed to us, we shall fear that the appointed hour is not yet come, and that—as Spenser imagined two hundred and fifty years since—"the Almighty reserveth Ireland in this inquiet state still, for some secret scourge which shall by her come into England."

Reviews.

An Essay on Beatification, Canonisation, and the Processes of the Congregation of Rites. By the Rev. F. W. Faber. London, Richardson and Son.

THIS essay forms the preface to the Life of St. Alphonso di Liguori, the first volume of which has recently appeared in the series of Lives published under the editorial superintendence of the author, Mr. Faber. It is a masterly production, and we have the more pleasure in hailing its appearance as regarding it as an earnest of the revival amongst us of what may be called a *native* theology, the want of which has long been felt and is every day increasing. Owing to the circumstances of the Church hitherto in this country, the laborious occupations of the clergy, and consequent absence of any thing like learned leisure, the amount of English Catholic theology is very small, while works of a practical and devotional character have been mostly derived by translation from foreign sources. The Essay before us, at the same time that it is solid, profound, and argumentative, is written in so popular and intelligible a style, and in so temperate and considerate a spirit, as to be interesting and instructive to the general reader, who wishes really to inform himself of the principles on which the Church has ever proceeded in her acts of canonisation and beatification, and to learn something of the deep and exact science on which those acts are founded.

We are persuaded that most important results may be expected from the reading of these Lives as the series proceeds, accompanied as they now are by a careful and well-reasoned exposition of the grounds on which the Church rests her judgment, and of the process which she employs for the elucidation of the facts on which that judgment is formed. Many, whose heart and conscience have been impressed and convinced by the heroic virtues and manifestly supernatural sanctity of those whose lives are related in these volumes with so much simplicity and grace, but whose natural caution or religious prudence are staggered by the number and extraordinary nature of the miracles attributed to the objects of their admiration, or by their apparent personal eccentricities, and the constant recurrence in their conduct of what looks like indiscretion, or affectation, or caprice, will, by a perusal of this Essay, obtain not only the fullest intellectual satisfaction to their difficulties, but be convinced both of the wisdom of the Church and of the spiritual pre-eminence of those whom she has recommended with authority to the imitation and veneration of her children.

To numbers of sincerely religious and intelligent persons external to the Church, we can imagine that this very seasonable publication will cause the most unfeigned astonishment, as their eyes are suddenly opened to the fact

of the laborious carefulness practised by the Church, and the philosophical and strictly critical spirit by which she is actuated, in a matter which they have been in the habit of regarding as part and parcel of an insensate and delusive system; nor should we be surprised to hear that the light thus let in upon the mind, had, in many instances, conduced to a more speedy embrace of the whole cycle of Catholic truth, and the full recognition of its paramount claims.

On the rigid examination which is applied to the whole life and every particular action of those whose cause is promoted before the Sacred Congregation, Mr. Faber's remarks are very striking.

"Not only are the sicknesses of the servant of God and the ordinary afflictions of his life inquired into, and the manner in which he bore them, but the falling away of his friends, the ridicule of the world, and the opposition of even good men, are investigated with special care, and that too while the dubium about his virtues is under consideration, as though these afflictions and thwartings were, so to speak, authentications which Providence is sure to give to heroic virtue, and of even a more convincing nature than miracles, seeing that the investigation of these cannot be entered upon until the dubium on the virtues has been solved and set at rest. Yet it is plain that these things add greatly to the likelihood of the Saint's character being misunderstood, or giving offence at first sight; they impart a look of strangeness to his life; they naturally make us suspect singularity, or self-will, or at least a want of discretion in not keeping in favour with virtuous persons and authorities. Many an objection of this sort which is made by readers, is nothing more than a repetition, although unconscious, of the shrewd shifts of the promoter of the faith, which he has urged out of a sense of duty, and which the postulators have answered and refuted to the satisfaction of the acuteness and jealousy of the Sacred Congregation. A very limited acquaintance with Acts of Canonisation will enable a man to see how true this is, and how seldom we can hear now from critics in the world even a tolerably plausible objection to the actions of a Saint, which has not been already far better urged and very completely answered in the Congregation. * * *

"Of course it need hardly be added, that the sins of the servants of God, and the signs of heroic repentance, are sought into with even a yet keener jealousy. Indeed, a separate volume might be written, in which almost every duty of the different relations of life might be illustrated from the processes in these causes. It is enough to say, that to the whole examination is given the character of the harshest criminal proceeding, with this significant difference, that the Congregation is reminded that there is no necessity of settling these causes in the face of a doubt; they can be quashed, and silence imposed, whereas in criminal trials some judgment must be given, and the doubt is in favour of the accused, whereas here it is decisive against the servant of God. The working of this is, as was intended, to strangle causes which are a little defective, as being the more safe method of procedure. The number of witnesses, the classification of their testimony, and the ingenious interrogatoria sent from Rome into the country at the formation of the processes, all increase the difficulty of getting a cause through the different stages, and add proportionably to the weight of the judgment when given. Benedict XIV. accounts for the few Saints which the solitary orders have produced mainly to the difficulty of getting witnesses; so that it seems as if those holy recluses sacrificed for the love of God some portion of their accidental glory in heaven as well as men's praise on earth. Indeed, since the decrees of Urban VIII., and the beautiful machinery which Clement XI. invented for the Sacred Congregation of Rites, no human process (putting out of sight entirely the promised assistance of the Holy Ghost) can be conceived more morally certain of discovering truth than the one instituted in the causes of beatification and canonisation."

The latter part of the Essay is occupied with the more dogmatic side of the subject, and presents the theological status of such questions as the following: Is the Church infallible in the canonisation of Saints? Is it *de fide* that the Church is infallible in the decree of canonisation? Is it *de fide* that the canonised Saint is really a Saint? The arguments *pro* and *con* are very clearly and concisely stated, and the several conclusions accurately drawn. The amount of information and theological knowledge thus conveyed is considerable, and, as a whole, we can fairly say we have never met with a more complete disquisition on so difficult a question, which is, at the same time, so popular and so interesting.

As a sample of lucid statement, the following answer

to an important question may serve to invite our readers to a closer acquaintance with the book itself:

"What is the exact meaning of a thing being *de fide*? and if it is not *de fide*, is it necessarily only of human faith? A thing is *de fide* because of the truth of God revealing it. Consequently dogmas are defined by the Church as *de fide*, not *precisely* because she is infallible about them, but because they are *aliunde revelata*. It does not therefore follow that the Church is not infallible about things not explicitly revealed, especially when they affect the salvation of the faithful. Canus held that the Church was not infallible in the approval of religious orders; but his opinion is almost unanimously rejected by theologians. Thus the Church is infallible upon dogmatic facts, in her precept of holidays of obligation and of hearing Mass, in her judgment of lay-communion in one kind, the refusal of the Eucharist to infants, the condemnation of simoniacal and usurious contracts, and the like; because faith, morals, and general discipline are laid down in theology as the three great provinces of her infallibility. Yet her decisions, although certainly infallible, are not necessarily *de fide* on such points, inasmuch as they are not explicitly revealed; simply because a thing is *de fide*, not *propter infallibilitatem ecclesie definientis*, but *propter veritatem Dei eam revelantis*. This is the common teaching. Now a man might say, It is not revealed that such and such a canonised Saint really enjoys the beatific vision; therefore it cannot be *de fide* that he is truly a Saint. What would follow from this? Are we then able at once to refer such a matter to ordinary human faith, with all the liability to error under which mere human faith labours? Certainly not; and this is a question of some importance. An opponent has not so completely got rid of his difficulties, when he has extorted an acknowledgment that this or that is not *de fide*. Theologians reply that there are three kinds of faith: *human*, which rests on human authority, and as such is uncertain and obnoxious to error; *divine*, which rests on divine authority, and is infallible immediately and of itself; and *ecclesiastical* faith, which rests on the authority of the Church defining any thing with the special assistance of the Holy Ghost, through which she is preserved from the possibility of error; and this faith is infallible with a participated and borrowed infallibility, inferior in degree to divine faith, but with a certitude raising it far above human faith. If therefore anything be shewn to be *de fide ecclesiastica*, it is not only entitled to our acceptance, but it even overrules all opposition, as a man, though not formally a heretic, would, to use the common phrases, be rash, scandalous, and impious, if he asserted the contrary; and inquiry would shew that an immense proportion of what is involved in hagiology is at least and most certainly *de fide ecclesiastica*."

THE COURT AND TIMES OF JAMES I.

[Second notice.]

THE quiet way in which the writers of these letters detail the absurdities and cruelties of the religious persecutions which the royal theologian and his ministers carried on with seldom-renting rigour, is one of the most curious peculiarities in the correspondence. It is strange, indeed, to those who sympathise with the sufferers, or who share our modern feelings on the subject of punishment for doctrinal sentiments, to read the exquisite coolness with which the piety and martyr's firmness of the sufferers is treated as so much stupid obstinacy or malignant superstition. The Jesuits, of course, come in for a large share of the notices of this kind with which the correspondence is enlivened; while every now and then some piece of hideous cruelty perpetrated upon some bewildered sectarian fanatic, shews that the monarch dispensed his favours with equal prodigality to all who differed from the theology of the Scottish Solomon and his advisers. Here is an example of the varieties of doctrine which called for the inquisitorial investigation of the spiritual master of the kingdom.

"Dr. Abbott, Bishop of Salisbury, buried his wife in November last, and in January married Dr. Cheynell's widow, a physician of Oxford. The Archbishop of Canterbury was nothing pleased with it when he heard of it, nor, I think, nobody else that wished him well. I told you of one Simpson of Cambridge, that preached some Arminian points before the King; which being appointed to retract in the same place, when he came, he made a very excellent sermon otherwise, but spake not a word of that was looked for and enjoined him. Whereat the King was much displeased, and hath since taken order that in another sermon he shall clearly deliver his mind in such and such points.

"Here is one Thraske, who was first a Puritan, then a

Separatist, and now is become a Jewish Christian, observing the Sabbath on a Saturday, abstaining from swine's flesh, and all things commanded in the law. You will not think what a number of foolish followers he hath in this town, and some other parts, and yet he hath not been long of this opinion. He and divers of them are in prison, but continue obstinate; whereby a man may see there can arise no such absurd opinion but shall find followers and disciples."

From the many pretty stories about the Jesuits we select the following:

"We talk here that there were a dozen or fourteen Jesuits at our commencement. There arrived lately at Lynne, one with trunks and boxes, whereof he was so nice, that he caused the searcher to see what he had, who found with him a wonderful rich altar of amber, a yard long and three quarters wide, with divers brave and curious saints laid in their beds. Fearing the discovery of all, he got what he could carry with him, and slipped away from them down the river to Cambridge. But being discovered which way he went, the searcher made after him, at length got sight of him, and dogged him hither. He housed himself at Hanson's; would have hired a horse for London, but was apprehended, and brought before the Vice-Chancellor on Monday morning, who found with him a wonderfully curious chalice, with a rich cover, all of amber. In the cover, a picture of some young prince; some say the King of France, but others come more near to us at home. The Vice-Chancellor having then no leisure, bestowed him till the commencement was past. What they will do with him I know not."

The narrative of a horrible accident which befell the Catholics who were assembled to hear a Jesuit preacher in Blackfriars, has an interest of a far different kind. The charitable people of the day, as they were wont, accounted it a judgment of Almighty God upon the deluded Papists, and a manifest interference of Divine Providence in favour of the King and his own particular theology. It was, in truth, a fearful scene.

"A relation of the fall of the room at Blackfriars, in which Father Drury the Jesuit was preaching. Anno 1623, October 26, *stylo vet.*, November 5, *stylo novo*."

"On Sunday, about three of the clock in the afternoon, in a large garret, being the third and uppermost story of a high edifice of stone and brick, over the entrance into the French Ambassador's house, in Blackfriars, London, a multitude of people were assembled to hear one Drury, a Romish priest, preach in the English tongue. The garret, where they were assembled, had a passage leading into a close, by the outward gate of the French Ambassador's house, but without that gate. By this outward passage, men and women had recourse to the priest, day after day. It had also another passage to it, out of the French Ambassador's withdrawing chamber, next to his bedchamber. These two passages met in one before they came into the garret. There was but one door into the garret. The garret, at the door, was about twenty feet wide, and about thirty feet long. At the farthest end from the door, there was a new partition of slit deal, set up to make a private room therein for one of the priests. There were also, adjoining to this garret, other rooms, wherein sundry priests lodged.

"The people being assembled, as aforesaid, Drury the priest came into the garret, with a surplice girt about him, and a stripe of scarlet lying over both his shoulders. One with a book and an hourglass followed him. About the midst of the garret, at the side over against the door, was set a chair and a table. Drury, coming to the chair, kneeled down with shew of some private devotion, which was not long. Then rising up, he stood with his face towards the people, crossed himself on the breast, and the man which followed him giving the book into his hand, he opened it and said that the gospel for the day was in the latter end of the eighteenth of St. Matthew, and so read the parable of forgiving debts (Matt. xviii. 2, 3), which being read, he set down in the chair, and put upon his head a red cap, having a white one under it, turned over the border of it. He read no audible prayer before the sermon, nor after the division of it. Some of the better sort of hearers had chairs and stools to sit on; many women sat on the floor; most of the people stood very thick together.

"After he had spoken something of the occasion of the parable, and propounded three points to be handled—1, the debt which we owe unto God; 2, God's mercy in forgiving it; 3, man's unmercifulness unto his brother—as he was speaking of God's mercy, the middle and main summer, whereupon a great part of the floor of that garret rested, brake asunder about the midst of it, and suddenly the summer, with the floor and the people thereon, fell down. The violence of the fall was so great, as it broke the summer whereupon the floor of the chamber directly under this garret rested; so as that floor also fell, together with the forenamed floor of the garret, and the people, upon a third floor of the French Ambassador's forementioned withdrawing

chamber, which was supported with arches of stone, and where they lay. The distance from the floor whence they fell, to the floor where they lay, was about twenty feet in depth. The garret was longer than the Chamber under it ten feet. No more of the garret than was directly over the chamber fell, which was about twenty feet square. They that stood on that end where the forementioned partition was, fell not, but breaking a hole through the wall into the next room, escaped. The summer of the uppermost floor was about a foot square. In the place where that summer broke, there were on each side a mortise-hole, whereunto the tenons of two beams were put over against one another, so as there was but three inches of timber betwixt those two mortise-holes; and the timber in that place was knotty, which made it more suddenly snap asunder. The summer of the floor of the chamber immediately under the garret was more massy: it was fourteen inches square. It broke nearer to an end than the other summer did. There was neither mortise-hole nor knot in the place where it broke. It was rent farther, and more shivered in breaking, than the other was. No part of the roof immediately over the garret fell, nor any part of the wall, but only the two floors.

"Of the people that fell, some escaped without any harm at all; others were bruised and wounded, but not mortally; others came out with life, but died either a few hours or a few days after. We hear that many died of the hurt they received by that fall, though they went from the place with life. The greatest number of them that fell died in the very place, being either mortally wounded or bruised. Of those that were taken out stark dead, many were conveyed away that very night; for on Sunday night, when they fell, there were told ninety-one dead corpses; but on the next-day morning, when the coroner and his inquest came thither, there could be found no more than sixty-three. Among these were two Romish priests, Drury and Rigeard. It is supposed that Rigeard was in the room immediately under the garret, for he was seen to walk there a little before the sermon began, and he was found among the dead, yet was he not observed to be at the sermon. Whether any company were in that middle chamber with Rigeard, or no, I cannot yet learn. The Lady Webb, the Lady Blackstone's daughter, and Mrs. Udall, being slain, they were carried to the Spanish Ambassador's house (viz. Ely House, in Holborn), and there buried in the back courtyard. The Lady Blackstone herself was sorely hurt: whether she be living or dead I know not. Captain Summer's wife and her waiting woman were buried in Blackfriars, according to the order of the Church of England; she in the vault under the church, her woman in the churchyard. In the forecourtyard of the French Ambassador's house was digged a great pit, eighteen feet long and twelve feet broad, into which were cast forty-four corpses, most of them wrapped up in a sheet, but many of them with their head, face, breast, thighs, and legs all bare, but only their shirt upon their body. Porters, labourers, and poor women brought them to the grave, without any bier or coffin; one taking a corpse by the hands and by the legs. There was another pit made in the garden of the French Ambassador's house, wherein other corpses were buried. Mr. Straker, a Scot, and Mr. Bartholomew Bavin, were buried in St. Bride's parish; there were buried in St. Andrew's, in Holborn, viz. Robert Sutton, John Lochom, and Abigail Halford."

The affairs of the Prelates of the Established Church occupy a position in these letters which contrasts singularly with the almost total absence of their names which would characterise any such letters if written at the present day. Who can wonder, when the Anglican Bishops were as unblushing hangers-on upon the Court as any of the backstairs intriguers in secular affairs, that Puritanism speedily became rampant in the kingdom, and the voice of an indignant people swept away all before them in a wild and zealous fanaticism? In truth, the deaths of Bishops, the hopes of the waiting clergy, and the appointment of successors to the vacant sees, form one of the most frequently recurring topics in this gossip of King James's court and times. The following is the record of a more serious mischance than was often the lot of the court-prelates of the day:

"Sir Dudley Digges was in town on Sunday, but his stay was so little that I did not see him. His errand was to condole and comfort the Lord of Canterbury for that heavy mishap; and when he had despatched that duty, he went away in post as he came. For aught I can learn, there is no more sorrow than needs, and I could wish they were somewhat more sensible of such a disaster; for howsoever mischances may light any where, and cannot be prevented, yet what should a man of his place and profession be meddling with edge-tools; and, no

* "His Grace was enjoying the sport of deer-shooting, and had the misfortune to kill a man instead of a stag."

doubt, both his own ill-willers and the common adversary will be ready enough to take advantage, and make the worst construction. Presently, upon the fall of the fellow, who lived not half an hour, he sent away to inform his Majesty; who returned a gracious answer, that such an accident might befall any man; that himself once had the ill luck to kill the keeper's horse under him, and that his Queen, in like sort, killed him the best brace he ever had; and therefore willed him not to discomfort himself. The keeper and he were both on horse-back, and in a standing, as was reported. It is given out his lordship will provide for the widow and three children in competent manner—some say more, some less. John Backhouse was present, and one of the jury, to inquire, as the manner is, how he came by his death; and they gave up a strange kind of verdict, and found it done *per infortuniam suæ propriæ culpæ*."

Here, again, we have the inferior clergyman and the Bishop at war, and the tale wound up with a wonderment about the unfortunate Papists.

"I am told that the Bishop of London, on Saturday, sent to him who was to preach on Sunday last for the copy of his sermon. He that was in the house told the messenger, that he was then very private in his meditations, but he would take opportunity to tell him the Bishop's pleasure. Yet it fell out that he told him not. Whereupon the Bishop, growing thereby more jealous, sends for him on Sunday some hour before sermon. The preacher came, and, having made his excuse, the Bishop began to give him good counsel, that he should take heed that he spake nothing which might be distasteful, or unfit for the present times. Then asks him what his text was, who told him, Gal. chap. i. verses 6 and 7: 'I marvel that you are so soon removed from him, that called you in the grace of Christ, unto another Gospel. But there are some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ.' Whereat the Bishop struck his hand upon his breast, swearing that that text was not allowable for these times. 'No,' said one of his chaplains that stood by, 'the very [spirit] of the text is not tolerable for the present times.' Then the Bishop asked him if he could not change it. He answered, 'No.' 'Well,' said the Bishop, 'look to thyself; for if thou speakest anything that shall not please, I vow to break thy neck and thy back too.' The preacher answered, he had nothing to speak but what he would stand to, and so was dismissed, being sermon-time. Yet by and by one of the Bishop's chaplains came after him, and offers to preach for him, but he refused. So, taking a little time to meditate, comes forth, and makes a preface, relating the sum of the former passages as an excuse if he were not so ready as he should have been, which much displeased the Bishop; yet the whole sermon contained nothing but, in general, a discourse of the damnable condition of those who should forsake the faith they had received. Only he concluded, that they might expect some application, but he was not ambitious of lying in prison; and so ended.

"I was told yesterday, by a gentleman out of Derbyshire, that some Papists there, on the borders of Lancashire, brought a great bear into the church while the minister was preaching; but a neighbour knight was so bold as to lay them all by the heels for it.

"My Lord Peters, a Catholic, is said to be confined to his house, upon a complaint made to my lord keeper by some gentleman, for affirming confidently that his Majesty and the Prince were both Papists: which God forbid!"

The meddling and peddling of the supreme authority in those days in all matters, religious and secular, is amusingly shewn in the stories of some of the royal and ministerial proclamations, which were repeatedly issued whenever the King wanted money, or any thing new and puzzling troubled the brains of statesmen and economists. Here, for instance, corn and the fair sex divide the attention of monitors and lawgivers.

"We are here in a strange case to complain of plenty; but so it is, that corn beareth so low a price, that tenants and farmers are very backward to pay their rents; and, in many places, plead disability; for remedy whereof, the council have written letters into every shire, and some say to every market-town, to provide a granary, or storehouse, with a stock to buy corn, and keep it for a dear year. But though this be well advised, and make a fair show in speculation, yet the difficulties be so many, that it will not be so easy to put it in practice.

"Our pulpits ring continually of the insolence and imprudence of women; and to help forward, the players have likewise taken them to task; and so to the ballads and ballad-singers; so that they can come nowhere but their ears tingle. And if all this will not serve, the King threatens to fall upon their husbands, parents, or friends, that have, or should have, power over them, and make them pay for it."

The following relates to ambassadors and arquebusses:

"We have had here two [new] laws published lately, the one against ambassadors, the other against arquebusses. The first forbids that no Venetian gentleman whatsoever shall frequent any ambassadors, which restraint was wont to be only for those who had entrance in Pregadi. The second inflicts grievous penalties upon any that shall be found with a piece; and hither we have heard of no mischance this winter, which you know was wont to succeed daily."

Our next extract displays the royal care for builders and for brewers.

"Among other projects and devices for money, here is a commission to inquire and survey all buildings that have been erected since Michaelmas the first year of the King, in London, or seven miles compass about it, contrary to certain proclamations. And they think to raise a great mass of money by this course; but I fear they will come very short of their reckoning, for most of the builders are beggarly companions, and so are the inhabitants; and withal it is thought strange that it should extend to so large a circuit, and to houses that have good store of lands laid to them. So that population shall be as much punishable as depopulation.

"The brewers are likewise dealt withal to pay fivepence upon every barrel, to avoid taking off beer for the King's household; and though they have made long resistance, yet it is doubted they must yield in the end, for their beer is sometimes taken from them by force. And if this course prevail, it will prove *initium malorum*; for what can hinder to impose two shillings as well as two-pence, if necessities grow as they begin, *et sic de ceteris*?"

But if bishops and courtiers, brewers and builders, are now subjected to another régime, and are themselves in consequence become another race of beings, not less are the seats of learning altered, so that Oxford and Cambridge are as much changed as St. James's, where clergymen hunted for preferment; or St. Paul's, in whose aisles the loungers of the day met and talked over the news of the hour. We should be amused to see the stately heads of houses at Cambridge entertaining their present royal Chancellor with such solemnities as are detailed in the following letter:

"I am newly returned from Cambridge, whither I went some two days after I wrote you my last. The King made his entry there the 12th of this present, with as much solemnity, and concourse of gallants, and great men, as the hard weather and extremely foul ways would permit. The Prince came along with him, but not the Queen, by reason, as is said, that she was not invited; which error is rather imputed to their chancellor than to the scholars, that understand not these courses. Another defect was, that there were no ambassadors, which no doubt was upon the same reason. But the absence of women may be the better excused for default of language, there being few or none present but of the Howards, or that alliance: as the Countess of Arundel, with her sister, the Lady Elizabeth Grey; the Countess of Suffolk, with her daughters of Salisbury and Somerset; the Lady Walden, and Henry Howard's wife; which are all that I remember.

"The lord treasurer kept there a great port and magnificent table, with the expense of 1000*l.* a day, as is said, but that seems too large an allowance. But sure his provisions were very great, besides plenty of presents, and may be in some part estimated by his proportion of wine, whereof he spent twenty-six tun in five days. He lodged and kept his table at St. John's College, but his lady and her retinue at Magdalen College, whereof his grandfather Audley was founder. The King and Prince lay at Trinity College, where the plays were represented; and the hall so well ordered for room, that above two thousand persons were conveniently placed.

"The first night's entertainment was a comedy, made and acted by St. John's men, the chief part consisting of a counterfeit Sir Edward Radcliffe, a foolish doctor of physic, which proved but a lean argument; and though it were larded with pretty shows at the beginning and end, and with somewhat too broad speech for such a presence, yet it was still dry. The second night was a comedy of Clare Hall, with the help of two or three good actors from other houses, wherein David Drummond, on a hobby-horse, and Brakin, the recorder of the town, under the name of Ignoramus, a common lawyer, bore great parts. The thing was full of mirth and variety, with many excellent actors; among whom the Lord Compton's son, though least, yet was not worst; but more than half marred by extreme length. The third night was an English comedy, called *Albumazar*, of Trinity College's action and invention, but there was no great matter in it more than one good clown's part. The last night was a Latin pastoral of the same houses, excellently well written, and as well acted, which gave great contentment, as well to the King as to all the rest.

"Now this being the state of their plays, their acts and

disputation: fell out much after the same manner; for the Divinity act was performed reasonably well, but not answerable to expectation. The Law and Physic acts stark naught; but the Philosophy act made amends, and indeed was very excellent; inasmuch that the Bishop of Ely sent the moderator, the answerer, the varier, or prevaricator, and one of the repliers, that were all of his house, twenty angels a-piece.

"Now, for orations and *lectiones ad clerum*, I heard not many; but those I did were extraordinary, and the better for that they were short. The University orator, Nethersole, though he be a proper man, and thinks well of himself, yet he is taxed for calling the Prince *Jacobissime Carole*, and some will needs add, that he called him *Jacobule* too, which neither pleased the King nor anybody else. But sure the King was exceedingly pleased many times, both at the plays and disputations; for I had the hap for the most time to be within hearing, and often at his meals he would express as much. He visited all the colleges, save two or three, and commends them beyond Oxford. Yet I am not so partial, but therein I must crave pardon not to be of his opinion.

"Though I endured a great deal of penance by the way for this little pleasure, I would not have missed it—for that I see thereby the partiality of both sides, the Cambridge men pleasing and applauding themselves, and the Oxford men as fast condemning and detracting all that was done, wherein yet I commend Corbet's modesty while he was there, who being seriously dealt withal by some friends to say what he thought, answered, that he had left his malice and judgment at home, and came thither only to commend."

From these quotations the general character of the work may be fairly estimated; and the reader may judge for himself how far he may like to venture upon the volumes as an addition to his historical library.

Short Notices.

Hymns of the Heart, for the use of Catholics. By Matthew Bridges, Esq. London, Richardson.

GRIEVOUSLY deficient as is our language in Catholic hymns, the inspirations of Mr. Bridges' muse will be truly welcome to very many of our readers. They are short, flowing, and genuine pourings forth of one who has meditated long and felt deeply upon what he utters. There is also a peculiar simplicity and heartiness of idea and expression about them, which supply a favourable contrast to the dreamy mistiness which too often condemns well-meant sacred verse to a hopeless oblivion. Though it is a difficult matter to institute any such comparison, we are disposed to think them the best collection of Catholic hymns, whether compiled or original, which has yet appeared in this country. A brief extract will best shew their style and spirit; it is one of several short and touching lyrics upon some of the titles given to the Blessed Virgin in the Litany of Loretto:

"JANUA CÆLI.

Gate of immortal bliss,—
Whose sweet celestial ray
Comes shining o'er the vast abyss,
That severs night from day;
My soul unfolds her wings
To soar aloft to thee,—
And far remov'd from earthly things,
Adores thy mystery.
The prophet saw that fane
Of heavenly beauty fair,
Where Deity itself would deign
To find a dwelling there:
One portal stood alone,
Of peerless pearl its frame:
There would the Lord ascend his throne,
And Mary was its name.
All hail, thou Matchless Maid!
An entrance make for me,—
Where He in glory is display'd
Who came to us through thee.
By all, and more than mothers know
In their maternal state,—
By all thy vigils, tears, and woe,
Thyself immaculate;
Thou Virgin Queen of earth and heaven,
Present me to thy Son,—
That every sin may be forgiven,
And a fresh trophy won."

The Wisdom of the Rambler, Adventurer, and Idler.
London, Longmans.

A VERY neatly printed and portable volume, containing all the best essays from Johnson's long-celebrated papers. The compiler, in a well-written preface, explains his reasons for making the selection, and expresses his conviction that there are many readers to whom it will be welcome, who are ignorant of the

treasures of good sense, philosophy, and practical religious morality, which were so eminently characteristic of the great Doctor's writings. A more unexceptionable book for a gift, or for school and college reading, or for those who would wile away an hour in meditating on a few of the bitter and the consoling mysteries of human life, it would not be easy to name.

A Full Course of Instructions for the use of Catechists. By the Rev. John Perry. Vol. II. London, Jones.

WE noticed the publication of the first volume of this very useful little manual on its recent appearance. The second volume is now ready, completing the work, and seems as valuable as the first to all who are engaged in teaching religious truth to the young. It is really what it professes to be, an *Explanation of the Abridgment of Christian Doctrine*.

Self-Destruction of the Protestant Church. By the Rev. John Perry.

A SINGULARLY sharp and pointed little tract, which, though it states its arguments in the most straightforward, unpretending manner, is one of the most decisive pieces of reasoning that can easily be met with.

Documents.

ALLOCUTION OF THE POPE,

ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN RUSSIA.

Delivered in the Secret Consistory of July 3, 1848.

VENERABLE BROTHERS,—You know well, venerable brothers, that in our ardent solicitude for all the flock of the Lord to us divinely intrusted, from the first moments of our supreme Pontificate, following the illustrious steps of our predecessor of late memory, Gregory XVI., we have, with most unceasing application, turned all our cares, all our thoughts, to order the things of our most holy religion in the immense dominions of the most serene and most powerful prince, the illustrious Emperor of all the Russias and King of Poland. You know, moreover, that we then furnished with our full powers our venerable brother Louis Lambruschini, Bishop of Porto, Santo Ruffino, and Civita Vecchia, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, a man distinguished for his singular piety, prudence, and learning, and for his ability in the conduct of ecclesiastical matters; and that we gave him for an assistant in a matter of so great importance our well-beloved son John Corboli-Bussi, Prelate of our house; in order that, with the noble Count de Bloudoff, sent specially to us, and furnished with full powers by the most serene Prince, and also with the noble Count de Boutenief, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the same Prince to us and this Holy See, he should attempt, on divers points, and for the higher interests of the Church in that immense empire, a settlement that should permit us to set the Catholic religion in those countries on a better footing, and to care more readily for the salvation of that well-beloved flock. To-day, then, we announce to you what fruit our solicitude and our labour in this great matter of the Catholic Church has, by the help of God, produced. And first, venerable brothers, we will impart to you that which to our heart is a sovereign consolation. In this very Consistory it is in our power to restore gladness to several Churches of the Latin ritual in the bosom of that empire, sorrowfully afflicted by long widowhood, and hand them over to worthy pastors. Soon, in like manner, it will be in our power, both in that empire and the kingdom of Poland, to provide for churches long vacant, and to give them pontiffs who may strive to lead into the way of salvation the flock committed to their care. It has been arranged that a new episcopal see shall be erected in the city of Cherson, with its college of canons and seminary, according to the law of the Council of Trent, and with a suffragan in the city of Saratow. The six other dioceses of the Latin ritual already existing in the empire will have new boundaries, as will be made known to you by the Apostolic Letters, which, according to custom, we have ordered to be published on that head. As regards the dioceses of the kingdom of Poland, no change will take place in their extent, which will remain as settled by the Apostolic Letters of the 30th June, 1818, of our predecessor Pius VII. of happy memory. We have taken every care to assure to the Bishops the full and entire administration of ecclesiastical matters in their respective dioceses, so that, as becomes their pastoral charge, they may have power to protect the faith, to encourage zeal for ecclesiastical discipline, to train the faithful to religion and piety, to form their habits, and to carry out as regards the young—above all, as regards such as are called to become the portion of the Lord—the directions of the Council of Trent, so wise and so full of foresight, leading them to every virtue, instructing them in all that is good, bringing them up in sound doctrine, wisely directing the ecclesiastical academy, and exercising over it a vigilant watchfulness. As in that empire there are found Catholics of divers rituals, those among them who have

no Bishops of their own ritual are thence, as is known to every one, under the jurisdiction of the Latin Bishop, and should receive from him, or from priests approved of by him, the holy sacraments and other spiritual assistance. But the number of Armenian Catholics destitute of Bishops of that ritual being very great in the diocese of Camenetz and in the new diocese of Cherson, we have been willing to provide in a special manner for their spiritual wants. Therefore it has been concluded that until they have a proper Bishop, not only shall the 9th ch. of the Fourth Council of the Lateran be observed with regard to them, but also that the Bishops of Camenetz and Cherson are to receive into their seminaries, and cause to be diligently instructed by an Armenian Catholic priest, a number of Armenian clergy to be determined by them.

We forbear to set forth in further detail what you will learn in full from the several articles of the Convention, which we purpose to publish with this Allocation. We had declared our approval of these articles before the most powerful Prince, the Emperor of all the Russias and King of Poland, had made known his acceptance, as, being then satisfied of the kind and benevolent disposition of that most serene prince, we could not doubt that he would invest them with his sanction; which, to our great joy, has taken place.

Behold then, venerable brothers, what we have essayed, and what we have accomplished to this time, to order the affairs of the Catholic Church in the empire of Russia. Many other things, and those of the greatest importance, still remain, which the Plenipotentiaries have not been able to settle in this treaty, and which still excite our liveliest solicitude and fill us with anguish, for they affect in the highest degree the liberty of the Church, its rights and foundations, and the salvation of the faithful in those countries. We refer, venerable brothers, to the undoubted and perfect liberty of assuring to the faithful the power, in matters relating to religion, of communicating without any obstacle with the Holy See, the centre of Catholic unity and truth, the father and mother of all the faithful. On this point, how great is our grief each of you can easily comprehend, by recalling the multiplied representations the Apostolic See has unceasingly made in every time, to obtain for the faithful this free communication, not only in Russia, but also in other countries where it is impeded in certain matters of religion, to the great damage of souls. We refer to property to be restored to the clergy. We refer to the absence of the layman, chosen by the Government, from the consistories of Bishops, so that in those assemblies the Bishops should have perfect liberty. We refer to that law of the empire by which mixed marriages are not recognised as valid until they have been blessed by the non-Catholic Greco-Russian priests. We refer to the liberty which Catholics ought to have to adjudicate their matrimonial causes, in the matter of mixed marriages, by a Catholic ecclesiastical tribunal. We refer to various laws in force in that country that fix the age allowed for the religious profession, that entirely annul the schools in the families of religious orders, that absolutely expel provincial superiors, and prohibit and forbid conversion to the Catholic religion. The gravest solicitude still affects us for those well-beloved sons of the Ruthenian nation who, alas! by the unhappy and ever-to-be-deplored defection of certain Bishops, are miserably scattered throughout those vast regions, in a state the most lamentable, their salvation in the greatest peril; for they have no Bishops to rule over them, to lead them into wholesome pastures and into the paths of righteousness, to strengthen them with spiritual help, to warn them of the deceitful snares spread for them by enemies full of guile. These griefs have so sunk to the bottom of our soul, that, by the grace of God, we will leave nothing undone that zeal and anxiety can effect to arrive at a settlement of matters so weighty for the Holy Church. We are not without hope. The noble Count de Bloudoff, on quitting this city to return to Petersburg, promised us, in terms most calculated to persuade, that he would carry our wishes and our demands to his Imperial and Royal Majesty, that he would be ready to support them, at least in a very great measure, and that he would declare in his own person that which it would have been very difficult for him to explain at a distance.

We have just learnt, and our soul has been filled with joy therewith, that the most serene Prince has given his consent that the new Bishop of Cherson shall have a second suffragan; and, moreover, that henceforth matrimonial and other ecclesiastical causes, both in the empire of Russia and in the kingdom of Poland, after a first sentence pronounced by the proper ordinary, shall be carried, in jurisdiction of the second degree, or according to precedent, to the tribunal of the Metropolitan; or, if the Metropolitan has adjudicated in the first instance, to the nearest Bishop, furnished to that end by the Apostolic See with special powers, whose duration shall be as long as necessary. Our joy was not less lively to learn, by the latest intelligence received from that Royal and Imperial Court, that the same most serene Prince is seriously occupied with the other

matters that we have referred to, and that we may cherish the hope of seeing them settled in a favourable manner. We have, then, at this moment the greatest confidence that this most serene and most powerful Prince will, in his equity, justice, and wisdom, and in the greatness of his exalted soul, yield to our wishes and our just demands, and that it will be in our power soon to announce to you that all that concerns the Catholic Church in those countries has been arranged as we so ardently desire.

The deplorable condition of the Ruthenians is that which above all agonises and tortures our heart; and therefore we protest anew that, as is the duty of our Apostolic ministry, we will never cease to make every effort to have it in our power to supply them, in the way most convenient, with the necessary succour for their spiritual wants. The Latin priests, we are confident, and that confidence sustains us, will employ all their labours and all the resources of their wisdom, to afford spiritual succour to these dear children. But from the depths of our soul we ardently exhort, with love in the Lord, and charge the Ruthenians themselves to remain faithful and steadfast in the unity of the Catholic Church; or, if they have had the unhappiness to stray from it, to return to the bosom of the most loving of mothers, to fly to us who, by God's help, are ready to do whatever may assure their eternal salvation.

Finally, venerable brothers, cease not with most humble and fervent prayer to implore and beseech the most merciful God, the disposer of every good, that, in the abundance of his Divine grace, He may vouchsafe to be propitious to our cares, endeavours, and councils, whose only aim is the spiritual benefit of all the faithful, and the welfare and spread of his most holy religion, which is the surest and soundest safeguard for states and for the peace and prosperity of nations.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROMAN LITURGY IN THE DIOCESES OF RHEIMS AND SAINT BRIEUC.

THE Archbishop of Rheims and the Bishop of Saint Brienc have issued pastorals enjoining the use of the Roman Liturgy in their respective dioceses. The following extracts from the Archbishop's pastoral on this important subject will be found extremely interesting. After shewing that the Christian liturgies, in their essential features, are as ancient as the times of the Apostles, the learned prelate proceeds:

"In attributing the liturgies to the Apostles, it is not intended to attribute to them all that they now contain, nor even all that they contained when they were reduced to writing at the end of the fourth and in the course of the fifth century. They were, as they still are, subject to incidental modifications. Worship could not be the same in times of persecution as in times of peace; nor could the sacrifice of the Mass be celebrated in catacombs or in prisons with the same pomp as in temples and basilicas. Newly established feasts required new and analogous prayers; prefaces and collects, composed to solemnise the memory of the Apostles, could not be their work: they were necessarily by a more recent hand. So is it with a portion of the canon, in which they are named with several Saints who lived after them. Thus all liturgies are not absolutely the same, although all those that are orthodox contain the same doctrine: the Greek liturgy, for example, offers us some other forms of prayer and ceremonies than the Roman liturgy. But the one and the other having been sanctioned by the Holy See, they are both to be regarded as the expression of Catholic doctrine, or at least as containing nothing contrary to the belief and meaning of the Church. It is the same with liturgies peculiar to certain dioceses of the Latin Church; when they have the approval of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, they offer us the highest guarantee for orthodoxy in the prayers and rites they prescribe. And, notwithstanding the inconveniences resulting to the faithful from the variety in these local liturgies, they may be conformed to, according to the constitutions of Saint Pius V.

"But it is otherwise with a modern liturgy, that does not unite the conditions prescribed by the holy canons. Although there may be sufficient reason to believe it orthodox, it must not be followed farther than the Ordinary may judge fit to allow, on account of the difficulties that prevent its entering into the common rule. A Bishop, according to the terms of the constitutions of the Holy See, be he metropolitan, primate, or cardinal, cannot of his own private authority, either substitute a new ritual for the Roman ritual, or introduce changes, even nonsubstantial, in the Roman ritual, nor modify the ritual belonging to his own church, notwithstanding he has the right to maintain that ritual. To make the organisation of worship, the order of the breviary, depend on the missal, ritual, and ceremonial of each particular Bishop would be to deprive the liturgy of its true character, by leaving it no authority save that of its author. Neither his new prefaces, nor his new hymns, how exact soever they might be, nor his new lessons taken from such or such an ecclesiastical author, nor the new applications made therein of the Scriptures, could be regarded

as being infallibly the meaning of the Catholic Church or the expression of Apostolic traditions. Moreover, if a Bishop could of his own power give a special liturgy to his church, there would soon be as many liturgies as dioceses, and as many ways of celebrating the divine office and of singing the praises of God; there would be an end of the uniformity in all that regards worship, so desirable and so desired by the faithful and by the Church.

"Thence the Popes, and generally the Bishops, have shewn the greatest zeal in maintaining the Roman liturgy in the most perfect union possible, even in what appeared non-essential."

The Archbishop establishes this last fact by long extracts from the bulls of Saint Pius V. on the breviary and the missal, *Quod a nobis* and *Quod primum tempore*; and from the brief of Paul V. on the ritual, *Apostolica sedi*; and thus continues:

"You know, dear and worthy fellow-labourers, the injunctions of the Holy See in favour of liturgical unity; you know the regulations of the provincial Council of Rheims in the year 1583, presided over by the Cardinal de Guise, one of our illustrious predecessors. This Council recommends to the Bishops of the province to cause an examination of the breviaries and missals of their dioceses, and, if requisite, to reform them as soon as possible, conforming to the usage of the Roman Church, according to the constitutions of Pius V.—*ad usum Ecclesie Romanae juxta constitutionem Pii V. reformari*. Neither were they ignorant of those which have been issued since, on various occasions, to revise and correct our liturgical books. Yet the Rhemish ritual, which cannot be placed among the number of particular rituals approved by the Holy See, far from being approximated to the Roman ritual, has varied from it more and more since the close of the seventeenth century. Finding ourselves, therefore, under the necessity of publishing a ritual for the use of our diocese, we thought fit to consult our Holy Father the Pope, whose care extends over the universal Church."

Journal of the Week.

July 21.

HOME AND COLONIAL.

Parliamentary.—In the House of Commons last night, a series of questions were put by Lord George Bentinck and others to the Chancellor of the Exchequer relative to the informality in the resolutions upon which the Sugar Duties Bill is founded. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that after mature deliberation, he had no doubt that he was at that moment levying the correct duties on colonial sugar; 13s. a cwt. was the correct duty now levied on British possessions' sugar. The importation of foreign sugar into the British colonies was prohibited. The Legislature of Jamaica might have legalised it on a tariff of its own; but no act of a Colonial Legislature could render null an act of the Imperial Legislature. The Bill was subsequently read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-day.

On the motion that the report on the Encumbered Estates (Ireland) Bill be further considered, Mr. Napier objected at great length to the clauses introduced into the bill by the Solicitor-General since it came down from the House of Lords. The clauses were defended by the Solicitor-General, and after a protracted discussion, several amendments were made in the bill, and the report was agreed to.

The Corrupt Practices at Elections Bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

The third reading of the Places of Worship Sites Bill (Scotland) was then moved by Mr. F. Maule; but Sir J. Graham moved that it be read a third time that day six months, which after some debate was carried, and the bill consequently lost.

On Wednesday it was discovered that the convicts in one of the wards of Newgate had mutinied, and had barricaded the entrance. A body of the metropolitan police was sent for, by whom the barricade was forced in, apparently without opposition, and the prisoners, twelve young men, from 18 to 25 years of age, removed to another ward. All the furniture and the glass in the windows were destroyed.

—Yesterday, 20s. was paid at the gate of Tothill-fields House of Correction to release Mr. Ernest Jones for one month from oakum-picking, to which he has been, in common with his fellow-Chartist convicts, subjected since his incarceration, and will be, in default of the payment of a weekly sum of 5s., the charge made by the county for his maintenance.

—The walls of Dublin were almost covered on Wednesday with proclamations placing the city under the provisions of the Crime and Outrage Act. There were immense crowds in the streets at night, Dame Street and the approaches to the Castle being almost impassable by the pressure of the throng, which continued to patrol the city until a very late hour. There was not, however, the slightest attempt at disturbance, a marked silence pervading the masses as they moved to and fro.

A crowded meeting of the Irish League took place in the Music-Hall in the evening. A deputation from the corporation of Kilkenny was in attendance. The Mayor of Kilkenny was called to the chair. On Mr. W. S. O'Brien, M.P., making his appearance, he was received with loud acclamations. 702 new members were admitted. After speeches from Dr. Kane of Kilkenny, the Rev. Mr. O'Malley, and others, Mr. O'Brien gave an account of his recent visit to Cork, and concluded by stating that the next meeting of the League should be in Kilkenny, at which they should consult and confer together upon the questions of national policy which could not fail to present themselves for adjudication. The language that he would hold to the British Government very much depended upon the spirit evinced by the Irish nation.

Messrs. Varian, J. W. Bourke, and J. O'Brien, three of the leading confederates of Cork, were arrested for sedition on Wednesday, but liberated on bail.

Kilkenny was the scene of considerable excitement on the 17th, owing to an unfounded report having got abroad that a warrant had been issued for the arrest of Dr. Kane. The people assembled in great numbers, with a view of preventing the warrant being put into execution; "barricades" were thrown up at one or two points; and it was not until an assurance had been given that the report was a fabrication, that the populace desisted from hostile demonstrations. Before evening closed, tranquillity was perfectly restored.

FOREIGN.

The four military commissions appointed by the President of the Council of the Executive Government of France have received orders to commence their sittings. All the members have, in consequence, been summoned to meet on Wednesday morning, at the Palais de Justice, in order to receive the documentary evidence prepared by the Central Commission.

M. Marrast was elected on Wednesday President of the National Assembly for the ensuing month.

—The first Chamber of the Hanoverian Diet, on the 8th instant, adopted and signed a declaration, giving their adhesion to the protest against the Regency published by the Council of Ministers. The declaration was signed by all the members but two. The citizens of Hildersheim and Osnabruck, on the contrary, have energetically protested against the Ministerial declaration.

July 22.

HOME AND COLONIAL.

Parliamentary.—The state of Ireland was the subject of discussion in both Houses of Parliament yesterday. In the House of Lords, the Earl of Glengall, in moving for some returns relating to the Irish clubs, expressed his approval of the manner in which the Lord Lieutenant had acted, and his gratification at learning that the Government had determined to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act. The Marquis of Lansdowne explained the steps which had led to Lord Clarendon's application for greater powers, and his own feeling that this was the measure called for by the circumstances. Lord Brougham and Lord Stanley expressed their entire approbation of the conduct of the Government in adopting this resolution.

In the House of Commons, Lord J. Russell gave notice that it was his intention to ask leave of the House, on the following day, to bring in a bill to empower the Irish Government to apprehend and detain, till the 1st of March, 1849, all persons suspected of conspiring against her Majesty or her Government.

The House then went into Committee on the Sugar Duties Bill, after a fierce opposition from Lord G. Bentinck and others, on account of its being "saturated with blunders." In Committee, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Attorney-General defended the heading of the schedule, which had been attacked; and the former gentleman having made some alterations in the duty to be levied on colonial refined sugar, the bill went through Committee, and was ordered to be reprinted.

On the motion for going into Committee of Supply, Mr. Keogh moved for the appointment of "a select committee to inquire into the law and practice of striking juries in criminal cases in Ireland, and especially into the facts connected with the striking of the juries in the late cases of 'the Queen against W. S. O'Brien, Esq., M.P.' 'the Queen against T. Meagher,' and 'the Queen against J. Mitchell.'" He was prepared to prove that in the late state trials in Ireland there had been a gross invasion of the due administration of justice. He applied himself to the case of Mitchell, contending that the course adopted in the selection of the jury for that trial was an insult to the whole Catholic population of Ireland. Although in the Dublin jury-book the Catholics were to the Protestants as nearly two to one, on the panel more than four to one were Protestants, there being but twenty-eight Catholics in the hundred and fifty names selected. Moreover, of these twenty-eight, twenty were placed so low in the list (some out of their proper alphabetical order), as to give every possible chance that they would not be called upon to serve. On the day of trial, seventy jurors were called, of whom eighteen were Catho-

lies, and the Attorney-General set aside every one of the eighteen. He then narrated some other circumstances tending to confirm his position that the selection of the jurors had been irregularly and unfairly made. He next alluded to the language held by the present Ministers, when, during the administration of Sir R. Peel, a similar course was adopted in the trial of the late Mr. O'Connell, and contrasted their magnificent promises when in opposition with their wretched performances when in office.

Sir G. Grey, after a severe personal attack on Mr. Keogh, defended the legal officers of the Government, and maintained that there had been a fair and impartial administration of justice; nothing had been done by the sheriff inconsistent either with law or with his duty. The charges which Mr. Keogh had preferred had been also made in open court, and a verdict had been given in favour of that officer. He then read the instructions given by the Irish Attorney-General to the Crown Solicitor, to prove that he had performed his duty fairly and impartially towards all parties. He had set aside no jurymen for his religious opinions, though he had very properly given directions to set aside decided political partisans. Having eulogised the Attorney-General, himself a Catholic, for refusing to pander to public popularity, by not allowing Catholics who were of objectionable politics to decide on the fate of men with whose political offences they sympathised, he next proceeded to notice the personal charge which Mr. Keogh had brought against himself. There was not one word in his speech of 1843 which he was not prepared to repeat now in office. He should offer the most decided opposition to the motion.

Mr. Keogh replied to Sir G. Grey's attack, and a good deal of personal squabbling took place.

Mr. Reynolds testified to the respectability of the Catholics who were excluded from the jury. He believed there was foul play in the selection; but the same course had been pursued in political trials under every administration he could recollect. It appeared to be a part of a political system; when men were prosecuted for political offences in Ireland, no matter whether by Whigs or Tories, the great object seemed to be to convict, and not to try. In the course of the debate, imputations had been thrown out against men who were the sincere advocates for restoring the rights of legislation to the people of Ireland. But was he to be told that because he advocated the repeal of an act of Parliament he was not to be believed on his oath? The Government had taken up a system of political prosecutions, and where it was to end God only knew; but, much as he was opposed to coercion bills, arms bills, felony bills, or to bills for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, he would rather see one and all of those bills enacted than be told, as a Catholic, that he was not fit to be believed upon his oath.

The debate was ultimately adjourned till Monday.

The account of the arrest and rescue of the Rev. Mr. Byrne, last week, at Carrick on Suir, was not true. Three secretaries of repeal clubs were arrested, and there was a large assemblage of people, some of whom were armed; but the prisoners were liberated on bail, and the crowd peaceably dispersed.

FOREIGN.

The *Outsee Zeitung* has a letter from Stettin of the 14th, stating that General Wrangel has refused to comply with the conditions of the late armistice, until he shall have received instructions to that effect from the Regent of Germany. A letter from Rendsburg of the 16th, in the *Zeitungshalle*, states that the Danes, too, have refused to acknowledge the armistice. The *Borsenhalle* of the 16th says that the result of the interview between the Prussian and the Danish General was the conclusion of an armistice till Tuesday the 18th inst.

— The Provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein have addressed a congratulatory letter to the Regent of Germany, in which they entreat him to extend his protection to Schleswig and Holstein.

— Accounts from Palermo state that on the 11th, both Houses of Parliament, in permanent sitting, announced at midnight the election of the Duke of Genoa under the title of Alberto Amedeo, 1st King of the Sicilians, and the illuminations and rejoicings were universal.

— The *Austrian Gazette* publishes the contents of several decrees of the Provisional Government for Moldavia and Wallachia. They proclaim—1, Abolition of capital and corporal punishment; 2, Liberty of the press; 3, Organisation of a National Guard; 4, An appeal to the people to lend their muskets to the state, if anybody possesses more than one; 5, Abolition of all ranks and titles.

— Accounts from Madrid state that on the 15th instant the Carlist General Rayo, terming himself Commander General of Estremadura, Toledo, and La Mancha, had published a proclamation calling on the people to rise and support King Charles VI. Cabrera was said to have appeared near Berga.

July 24.

HOME AND COLONIAL.

Parliamentary.—The House of Commons met on Saturday at 12 o'clock, when Lord J. Russell, pursuant to notice, moved "for leave to bring in a bill to empower the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, to apprehend and detain, until the 1st day of March, 1849, such persons as he or they shall suspect of conspiring against her Majesty's person and Government." He rested his proposition on three grounds—one, that the present state of things in Ireland was fraught with evil, and that they were on the eve of an outbreak if not timely prevented; secondly, that there were means, unless avoided, sufficient to produce great injury and danger; and thirdly, that the measure proposed was the remedy most appropriate in the present calamitous state of Ireland. Mr. O'Connell and the Repeal Association held that the Act of Union might be repealed, and that a Parliament constituted of Lords and Commons might be revived to legislate for Ireland; and this object they desired to attain by peaceful agitation. But the object of the new confederacy was a total separation of Ireland from the dominions of the Crown, to be effected by "physical force," intending no less than rebellion. The noble Lord then adverted to the deputation sent over to Paris, with the view of asking assistance from a country which had just set the example of revolution; to the tone of the Repeal press, citing the *United Irishman*, the *Irish Felon*, and the *Nation*; and to resolutions which had been passed at a meeting of the officers of the Dublin clubs, held on the 14th July, wherein, while they disclaimed pillage and massacre, they did not disguise that their object was not to obtain a repeal of the Union, but that nothing less than the dismemberment of the empire would satisfy their aspirations. And these resolutions were put forth for the purpose of quieting alarm; for it had been stated in Ireland, and by none more earnestly than by the Catholic clergy, that if the Confederation should succeed in its purposes there would be an end to all respect for religion, and that the rule of brute force would be established. His Lordship next recounted the later proceedings of the Clubs, affirming that the evidence was all to one and the same effect—that although persons of property, and the clergy, both Protestant and Catholic, were decidedly against any outbreak, yet no influence used by them would have any effect whatever in deterring many thousand persons of the younger men of every class, but more especially of the farmer and peasant class, from rising in insurrection. The Government might have been justified in asking for these powers at an earlier period; but they had waited until the necessity was so clear, so notorious, and so glaring, as to carry the almost universal conviction of the two Houses of Parliament. The noble lord concluded amid loud and prolonged cheering.

Mr. Feargus O'Connor said this measure would hasten the rupture in Ireland. He was not for a Repeal of the Union, he would have a total separation between England and Ireland; and, as he had said to the noble lord before, if the French had won at Waterloo, and had come over here and confiscated the property of the Bedford family, what would the noble lord himself have done, if not bequeath to his children the lesson that they must contend for the freedom of their country from the yoke of a foreign power? [Lord J. Russell here reached forward, and taking up the form of the oath of allegiance taken by members of Parliament, held the paper towards the honourable and learned member. This action elicited vehement cheering from all parts of the House.] Mr. O'Connor continued—The noble lord had directed his attention to the oath of allegiance, but for what? He should best discharge his duty to the Sovereign to whom he had taken that oath, if he pointed out how one part of her dominions could be best preserved, by acting upon the principles of justice. If the noble lord had assisted Lord Claremont in carrying out his suggestions for reclaiming waste lands, and his agricultural improvements, he would have done more good for Ireland than by arming him with these powers.

Sir Robert Peel, believing that there existed in Ireland a wicked conspiracy to deprive the Queen of her crown and government in that country, would take his part with the Crown of the United Kingdom against the conspirators who were arrayed against it. The conspiracy was not an agrarian one, but a conspiracy of assassins, a conspiracy of traitors. If other measures should be necessary, directed against the clubs, against those shooting galleries established in the metropolis of Ireland, with the heart of the Lord Lieutenant as the butt against which their shots are to be fired, he hoped no delay would be interposed in stating what those powers were. As nothing but necessity could justify a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the same necessity made immediate action desirable; and he would consent to the suspension of any forms, in order that his opinions might be embodied in the shape of an Act of Parliament. The late Mr. O'Connell, who was the enemy of separation, and wished to maintain the golden link of the Crown, might have said, "I am for a separate legislature,

but for the supremacy of the Crown in Ireland;" but the position of the honourable gentleman (Mr. O'Connor) was different from that occupied by Mr. O'Connell. The allegiance promised by the oath was allegiance on the part of Ireland, as fully and completely as on the part of England; and if the honourable gentleman took that oath with a secret reservation that he would be a faithful and loyal subject in this part of the United Kingdom, but reserved a perfect latitude of action in Ireland, and a right to sever the sister country from her Majesty's dominions, this latitude of construction was so large as to leave no value whatever in such a declaration of allegiance.

Mr. B. Osborne never experienced more regret than when he heard the noble lord throw out his intention to introduce a measure for the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland; and his first impression was such that he intended to be pusillanimous enough to absent himself from the division. But upon further reflection, he considered that he should not be acting a part worthy of a member of the House if he did not boldly state his reasons for supporting her Majesty's Government on that occasion. If the proceedings in Ireland had been in accordance with the constitution, he should not have been prepared to support such an arbitrary measure; but believing that the repeal of the Union was only a pretext for murder and pillage, he did not think he was justified in withholding his vote in favour of the bill. In the event of its being passed, he thought it would be more proper for the House not to be prorogued, but to continue to sit from month to month, so that, hand in hand with that measure, they might pass some large remedial measures for Ireland. He himself would submit to the House his long-considered convictions that there should be some modification of the Act of Union. A precedent for supporting the bill was furnished by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, when the Habeas Corpus Act was last suspended in that unfortunate country, on the murder of Lord Kilwarden.

Mr. Sadlier said, the House had to decide whether they would suspend the constitution for a brief period, or expose the people of Ireland to misery and carnage. The more incapable, the more unfit the present advisers of the Crown were to wield the powers of the Executive, the greater was the necessity to give to the people of that realm the only security that could at present be offered to them—the safeguard and protection of a military despotism.

Mr. Sharman Crawford admitted that times arose when the common principles of the Constitution must be suspended; but such measures of suspension should be accompanied with practical plans of social improvement. In the year 1800 the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended in Ireland; again from 1802 till 1805; from 1807 till 1810; again in 1814; and once more, from 1822 till 1824. And now, in 1848, after forty-seven years of union, Ireland must be held by the sword, or by that which few Governments liked to propose—good remedial measures. There was a great difference between meeting a rabble in a field, and taking that military occupation of the country which would become necessary. In 1798 there was a force of one hundred thousand men in Ireland: was Government prepared to furnish as great a force now? It was alleged at that time that the Government had neglected all proper precautions, with the view of letting things come to a crisis. He hoped that such was not the case now, though there might appear some grounds for the suspicion, when it was seen that the laws of the land already in existence were not put into exercise. Why was not the act already passed, commonly called the Felons Act, sufficient for the purpose? and why had it not been fully carried out? Mr. Crawford concluded by moving as an amendment, "That the present distracted state of Ireland arises from misgovernment, and from the want of remedial measures, without which no coercive measures could restore either order or content to the country."

Mr. Fagan seconded the amendment; repudiating the doctrine of the honourable member for Nottingham, and referring to the existence of the Protestant Church in Ireland, in its present proportions, as one of the evils of that country.

Mr. Disraeli wished to state the single reason for which he should give to the proposition of her Majesty's Government his earnest and unequivocal support. The impending insurrection was not an agrarian movement; not a religious movement; not a movement arising from any sentiment of perverted nationality. It was neither more nor less than an external, a continental movement. It was neither more nor less than a Jacobin movement; and he looked upon Jacobinism to be neither more nor less than a system of universal plunder, and of unmitigated violence. He wished to protest against its going forth throughout Europe that the question before them was a question between the Government of England and the people of Ireland. He did not believe that even numerically the traitors had the advantage. He did not for a moment suppose—he had every reason to disbelieve, that the Catholic priesthood could look with any favour upon a Jacobin movement. It was the movement of a party, organised, desperate,

stimulated by foreign example, and inspired by foreign successes; a party which, on previous occasions in the history of that country, had adopted the same course, and aimed at the same result.

Mr. Henry Drummond charged Mr. Feargus O'Connor with having, more perhaps than any one, tended to foment Jacobinical feelings. When he had spoken on a former occasion of the doctrine promulgated by M. Proudhon, *toute propriété est un vol*, he was ignorant that the same doctrine had been broached by the honourable member for Nottingham in his newspaper. Mr. Drummond read extracts, which, he contended, shewed that Mr. O'Connor was not merely discontented with the tenure of property, but had declared that the whole state of society must be subverted.

Mr. Hume said the Irish people could not forget the declarations repeatedly made by every man now sitting on the Treasury bench, that there could be no peace in Ireland as long as the Irish Church remained in existence. He agreed entirely with Mr. Sharman Crawford that remedial measures ought to be introduced as speedily as possible, but he should be sorry to see any division on the motion now before the House.

The amendment having been supported by Mr. D. O'Callaghan, Mr. Reynolds, Colonel Dunne, and Mr. Scully, and the necessity of the bill defended by Sir D. Norreys, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Grogan, Mr. Muntz, and Sir Winston Barron, the House divided, when the numbers were—for the amendment, 8; against it, 271.

The Bill was now read a first time; and then a second time, with some opposition from Mr. Reynolds, who, however, did not feel himself justified in asking for another division after so decided an expression of the sense of the House. Sir Lucius O'Brien explained that, considering the possibility of his near relative being one of the first to be affected by the measure, his impression was that it would be more decorous not to vote; but being strongly impressed with the necessity of these proceedings being put an end to, he had thought it more becoming to give a decided vote in favour of the measure. Mr. Monsell and Mr. R. M. Fox also entreated the House to interpose no obstacle to the passing of the measure.

It was stated by the Government, in answer to questions, that a record would be kept of the warrants issued under the Act, by the clerk of the peace for the city of Dublin; and that there was only one alteration from the act of 1822, the omission of the clause with respect to Members of Parliament, by which it was enacted that the leave of the House was first to be obtained previous to a member being committed. The Bill was then finally read a third time, having passed through all its stages during the one sitting of the House.

FOREIGN.

Through Lubeck there are advices from Copenhagen to the 17th July. The settlement of the armistice was broken off. The Prussian Envoy, Count Portales, urged General Wrangel to adopt, unconditionally, the terms of the armistice agreed to at Malmö, and in vain reminded the General of his duties to Prussia; but Wrangel was firm, declaring that he owed his obedience to the Regent of Germany, and that he would only give his consent on the following conditions: That the armistice be agreed to by the Central Government; that the actual position of the two armies be maintained during its observance; and that the authority of the Provisional Government of the Duchies be recognised until peace might be concluded.

The Foreign Minister, Count Knüth, has had a conference with the King of Sweden at Malmö on the subject of further measures, and much will depend on this interview, as Russia has placed its fleet lying at Moen at the disposal of King Oscar; and additional damage will therefore fall on the German sea-ports.

—The committee appointed by the National Assembly of France to consider the question of labour, was occupied on Thursday with a proposition of M. Avond, relative to the creation of a school of professional instruction, and for the formation of workshops for receiving children as apprentices. The Minister of Agriculture and Commerce announced his intention to present a bill on those subjects, and the committee consequently resolved not to take into consideration the proposition of M. Avond. M. Wolowski then brought forward his proposition relative to the employment of women and children in manufactories. He proposed that no child shall in future be received into any manufactory under nine years of age; that children from nine to thirteen years of age shall not labour more than six hours a day, and from thirteen to eighteen years not more than sixty-nine hours per week.

It appears that the damage caused to property in Paris by the collision between the troops and the people on the 23d, 24th, and 25th of February last, was not so great as had been calculated. A grant of 200,000*l.* (8,000*l.*) was made by the Provisional Government to indemnify the sufferers, of which only 167,000*l.* (6,680*l.*) has been claimed.

— The *Madrid Gazette* publishes a Royal decree, granting an amnesty to all persons implicated in the revolt of Alican and Valencia, excepting only the leaders. The application of the Infanta Dona Josefa to have her marriage annulled had not been acceded to by the Queen; and the Infante Don Francisca de Paula had been ordered by her Majesty to travel abroad, taking the Infanta, his daughter, with him.

July 25.

HOME AND COLONIAL.

Parliamentary.—In the House of Lords, on Monday evening, the Ecclesiastical Patronage Bills (Ireland) Bill was read a second time, on the motion of Earl Fortescue.

The Habeas Corpus Suspension (Ireland) Bill, having been introduced by the Marquis of Lansdowne, and supported by him with similar arguments to those used in the other House by Lord John Russell, was read a first, second, and third time, and passed; the standing orders of the House having been suspended for that purpose. The speakers were but few—Lords Brougham, Ellenborough, Wicklow, and Glengall; and the most noticeable point in the conversation was a question from the Earl of Wicklow, who wished to know whether any provisions had been introduced into the bill for the purpose of preventing persons from writing such letters from their prisons as had appeared in the public journals.

The Marquis of Lansdowne explained that those letters, which were dated in prison, and which appeared to have been written by a person in prison, were not written in a prison at all, but were the production of some individual who had assumed the name and character of the person in prison. At the same time the point would in no case be overlooked.

Lord Ellenborough maintained that no measure would prevent rebellion in Ireland but the organisation and arming of the North; they were pursuing a wrong course if they took any steps without arming their friends amongst the population.

The Earl of Glengall directed the attention of their lordships to one very important point, and that was the conduct of the Catholic clergy during the present emergency. The accounts he had received on the subject were highly satisfactory; but though the great body of the Catholic clergy were opposed to the present incitements to insurrection, he regretted to say that there were several of the Catholic priests who were urging the people to join the clubs. He knew the names of some of those priests, and had received them on most undoubted authority. Now, he would respectfully warn that portion of the Catholic clergy of Ireland, who urged the people to join the clubs, to pause—to read the page of history, and they would see that every revolution had done serious injury to the Catholic religion. It was so in Ireland, and in this country, after the Reformation; and in 1688, and in the revolutions of Spanish America, in Spain itself, and in the French Revolution of 1830, the Catholic religion had suffered. In the very last revolution of France, had not the Catholic Archbishop been murdered? and was not the Pope himself at this moment critically situated in consequence of revolutions?

In the House of Commons, Mr. G. Sandars presented a petition from six hundred of the inhabitants of Wakefield, praying that the House would take measures to secure to seceding clergymen the same liberty of conscience and action as was secured to other Dissenting ministers.

Mr. Cardwell presented a petition from Liverpool, most numerous signed by all classes, including the Mayor, Lord Sefton, most, if not all, the magistrates, and all the principal bankers and merchants of every class of political opinion, praying for the extension to that important town of a similar measure of coercion to the one just passed for Ireland, and for permanent military protection, on the ground of the contiguity of Liverpool to Ireland, and its containing among its population so large a proportion of Irish, who were known to sympathise with the disaffected in their own country, and were already organised in clubs, and arming.

Mr. Fagan resumed the adjourned debate on the exclusion of Catholics from juries in Ireland, wishing to impress on the House that in that country the religious feeling was very strong, and that any insult to their religion was taken up very warmly by the people of Ireland. The majority of the people who were Ripealers were Catholics; and the consequence of the rule setting aside Ripealers would be, that almost all the Catholics of Ireland would be excluded, and trial by jury would become, in the words of Lord Denman, "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare."

Lord John Russell explained the mode of selecting the Sheriff of Dublin; the names of three gentlemen were returned by one of the Judges for the choice of the Crown. The Attorney-General for Ireland was a Catholic, and he did not think it likely that, without good reason, he would take any step having the effect of disqualifying his co-religionists from sitting upon juries. There was every disposition to afford a fair trial to persons accused of the offences referred to.

The motion was negatived without a division.

The House then went into Committee of Supply, when a number of votes were taken connected with the Army Estimates. In the course of the "badgering" which Mr. Fox Maule, as Secretary at War, had to undergo, an important social change was announced as in train. In answer to a question from Mr. Charteris, Mr. Fox Maule said that non-commissioned officers, with their wives, were placed in separate rooms in barracks. The indecent practice of private soldiers and their wives sleeping in the same rooms with unmarried men was still continued, but the subject was under consideration, and he hoped that before next year an arrangement would be made by which married soldiers would, with the permission of their commanding officers, be provided with lodgings out of the barracks.

The Encumbered Estates (Ireland) Bill was read a third time and passed, "amidst cheers."

—The Irish Government are following up with energy the proclamation which they have issued, and every thing appears to prognosticate a speedy solution to the question, whether there is to be a rebellion this year or not. The announcement of a bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act has had an electrical effect upon the movement and all who take part in it. Smith O'Brien left yesterday for Wexford just in time to save himself from arrest for felony under the Crown and Government Security Bill. Meagher is also "out of town," although the reasons for his absence were not so pressing. If a rising is to take place at all, it cannot now be long delayed. At the meeting of the clubs last night, Tuesday next was mentioned as the day. They are to meet, however, to-night again, and their plans may be altered. When it does take place, the insurrection will probably be simultaneous in four or five towns, such as Cork, Waterford, Kilkenny, Clonmel, and perhaps even Dublin. That some movement is contemplated here also seems clear from the agitation which the Confederates are endeavouring to foment among the sympathisers in Liverpool, and from the fact that Hyland and Co., the great pike-makers, have discontinued working here, and are going to light their furnaces on the other side of the Channel. But whatever may be attempted in the metropolis, the struggle will commence in reality in the south, and on the line stretching from Cork to Tipperary, and thence to Waterford. In these districts there is too much reason to believe that large masses of the people are ripe for rebellion, and that even if their leaders were slow in coming forward, they would drive them to insurrection. At Cork, by the official reports which have just been received, great excitement prevails, the violence of the clubs having been greatly aggravated by discovering that their chiefs are shewing symptoms of fear. At Waterford also, and thence to Carrick-on-Suir and Clonmel, an outbreak appears imminent. Wexford, whither Smith O'Brien has gone, retains too vivid a recollection of the miseries which the last rebellion entailed on it, to be easily cajoled into the movement; but the attempt is to be made, and a dinner is to be held there to-day, at which treason will no doubt flow copiously and without restraint. On Wednesday the League meets at Kilkenny, and the proceedings there will be important, unless Government previously secures Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and the other leaders of the movement.

—The magistrates of Liverpool have taken extraordinary precautions for the safety of that town, owing to the disaffection said to exist among the Irish population. The police have been considerably augmented, and trained to the use of the musket in addition to the sword-exercise; and an enormous addition has been made to the garrison, of troops of every description—horse, foot, and artillery.

—By the India and China mail the advices are important. At Lahore, General Khan Singh, of the Sikh artillery, had been discovered heading a plot to allure our Sepoys from their allegiance, and had been hanged by order of the Resident, along with a Moonshiee of the Rane, similarly implicated. It was expected that important information would be gleaned from a third culprit, who had been reprieved at the gallows on that condition. About twenty other persons were in custody on the same charge. The plot had been brought to light mainly by the instrumentality of several Sepoy officers. Previous to this discovery it had been considered necessary by our authorities at Lahore to employ further measures of precaution to secure the peace of that capital. Troops had been ordered to move up there and to the Jullunder Doab, and the engineers were occupied in raising a parapet around the whole inner edge of the rampart of Lahore, and by every possible means strengthening and isolating the works occupied by the troops. A large magazine of arms in the city, furnished of old by Runjeet Singh, had been undermined by order of the Resident, and blown up.

It had been determined at Bombay not to undertake military operations against the insurgents of Mooltan, from that presidency, at this season of the year; and the Resident at Lahore, Sir Frederick Currie, entertaining grounds of distrust as to the state of affairs at the capital, and the spirit of the Sikh troops, had also countermanded an order for the march upon Mooltan.

of a brigade from Ferozepore. Major Jacob, at the head of the irregular Scinde horse—a body of at least 1200 cavalry, which that officer is understood to have brought to a high state of efficiency—had at once moved upwards to the frontier, near the enemy. Little had yet been heard of his proceedings. He is said to have fallen in with a body of Beloochees, under one of the hill chiefs, at Kosmoee, on the verge of the Scinde territory, who were proceeding to join the standard of the Dewan, and to have had a smart and successful engagement, without, however, being able altogether to arrest their course. Similar conduct, although ineffectually, had been displayed by Lieutenant Edwardes, an officer despatched last year to garrison the plain of Bannoo, in Eastern Afghanistan, who marched upon Mooltan with the 2500 Sikh troops under his command; but these forces deserted him when near the insurgent frontier, and he escaped, with only one attendant, through perils. It deserves also to be mentioned, that Colonel Shaw, of the 9th Native Infantry, at Sukkur, despatched a light company, with medical assistance, by steamer up the Indus, on receipt of the first intelligence from Mooltan. The steamer put back when news had been obtained as to the final fate of our two countrymen. Accounts had been received at Lahore, *via* Bhawalpoor, of the proceedings of the insurgents in Mooltan. The Dewan had offered large bounties to Sikh Sepoys, and especially to horsemen, to induce them to join his standard; and there appears no doubt that considerable masses had already collected around him. He is said to be strengthening and garrisoning the fort of Mooltan, and also that of Mittenkote, on the Indus, at the confines of our territory. He attempted to intercept an officer and his family who were descending the Ravee, but they received timely notice and escaped. His horsemen had been out, also, in pursuit of Lieutenant Edwardes.

July 26.

HOME AND COLONIAL.

Parliamentary.—In the House of Lords, on Tuesday, the Royal assent was given by commission to the Habeas Corpus Act Suspension (Ireland) bill, and some others. The Marriage (Scotland) bill was read a third time and passed.

In the House of Commons, Mr. C. Buller moved the second reading of the Poor-law Union Charges (No. 2) bill. The main object of the bill is to throw certain charges connected with poor-law administration on the general union, instead of suffering them to weigh unfairly on particular parishes—principally the charges incurred by vagrancy, and the cost of supporting irremovables and vagrants. The debate was adjourned till Thursday.

In answer to a question from Mr. Disraeli, Lord Palmerston stated that the armistice between Denmark and Prussia had not been signed, because the Prussian General commanding in Schleswig felt himself in a difficult position as regarded the Confederation, whose organ resided at Frankfort. The noble lord felt confident that these difficulties would be surmounted.

Sir W. Molesworth made his long-promised motion on Colonial matters, putting his resolution in the following terms: "That it is the opinion of this House that the colonial expenditure of the British empire demands inquiry with a view to its reduction; and that to accomplish this object, and to secure greater contentment and prosperity to the colonists, they ought to be invested with larger powers for the administration of their local affairs." Sir William considered that 4,000,000*l.* was much under the real expenditure of Great Britain on account of her colonies, while the declared value of our exports to them amounted only to 9,000,000*l.* If half of that expenditure were applied to emigration the result would be most beneficial.

Mr. Hawes defended the Colonial-office, past and present. He admitted that local self-government ought to be the general rule, and he concurred in its propriety wherever the colonies were fit for its application; but the maxim admitted of great qualification—from the size of the colony, its being merely a military possession, or where the population was very unevenly composed of different races. In reasoning on the cost of colonial government, imports should be taken into account as well as exports. In 1845 the value of the imports was 15,100,000*l.*, and of the exports 13,400,000*l.* He had no objection to the motion, for it would but carry out the principle they had been some time aiming at. The debate was adjourned for a fortnight.

—Mr. J. O'Connell has addressed a letter to his "beloved fellow-countrymen," dated "the Cove of Cork, July 22," in which he tells them that "two parties are in the field labouring for the ruin and total overthrow of their cause—the Government and the Young Irishmen." He warns them against the "mad and criminal policy of the latter"—advises them not to join the "Irish League"—and announces that "the association Daniel O'Connell founded is not dead. It shall not die by its own act at least. The people shall deliberately, advisedly, and of their own full and free will, put an end to it, if it is to die. Otherwise it shall proceed after its resumption of sittings (early, I hope in August), and working on the same

glorious principles whereby emancipation and all that yet has been won of Irish rights were achieved, it shall accomplish speedily, certainly, and triumphantly, the crowning measure of all in the Repeal of the cursed Union."

FOREIGN.

At a meeting of the club of the Rue de Poitiers in Paris, M. Leon Faucher said that the real prefect of police is still Causidiere, from whom M. Ducoux takes all his inspiration; Lamartine rules the foreign affairs under the name of Bastide; and Ledru Rollin rules Lamartine. The anarchist journals, such as *La Reforme* and *La Democratie Pacifique*, have been allowed to pour forth daily their furious invectives against every principle of social order, while the respectable journals of *La Presse* and *L'Assemblée Nationale* are suppressed. M. Leon Faucher concluded a somewhat violent speech with a proposition either that a deputation should be sent to express the sense of the meeting to General Cavaignac, or that interpellations should be made and a debate raised in the Assembly. After some observations from MM. Vivier, Mauguin, Duvergier d'Hauranne, and Degoussée, who concurred generally in the sentiments expressed by M. Leon Faucher, but deprecated any systematic or factious opposition to Government at the present moment, the discussion was adjourned till the next meeting. This adjournment was thought the more desirable, as it happened that M. Thiers was not present.

—A telegraphic despatch arrived at Madrid on the 20th, from La Granja, announcing the miscarriage of the Queen, arising, it was said, from some personal imprudence, but no details were given.

—A letter from Naples of the 17th inst., brings the important news that immediately on the arrival there of the intelligence of the election of the Duke of Genoa as King of Sicily, preparations on an extensive scale for the invasion of Sicily were made. Orders were issued to prepare all the steam frigates and gun-boats in the bay and harbour, and all the commercial steamers were seized, as well as every description of boat capable of carrying arms. The sailors employed in the coasting trade, not only at Naples but at all the islands, were impressed, and every expedient was resorted to, to augment the army. It was calculated that the forces available for the invasion consisted of about 20,000 troops in Calabria, about 5000 in the fortress of Messina, and 6000 or 8000 at Naples.

—The Turin journals of the 21st announce a victory obtained at Governolo by General Bava over 2000 Austrians, from whom he has taken a standard, two pieces of cannon, and 500 prisoners. The Sardinian head-quarters were at Marmirolo, within five miles of Mantua. Among the prisoners taken by General Bava, and sent to Cremona, were nine officers, including one field officer.

July 27.

HOME AND COLONIAL.

Parliamentary.—In the House of Commons, on Wednesday, on the order of the day being read for the adjourned debate on the Parliament of Ireland bill, Mr. R. M. Fox begged leave to move that the order be discharged. He was the more desirous of taking that course when he reflected that so many persons professing repeal in Ireland had lately become republicans—a doctrine he could never sanction.

Sir Benjamin Hall complained of the vacillation of the Repeal members. He asked them on Tuesday whether they intended to go on with the debate, and they had not then made up their minds. They afterwards came to a determination to bring the question forward, and no later than that morning they had sent circulars to honourable members announcing that it would be discussed that day; and now, at twelve o'clock, they had altered their minds.

Mr. Reynolds vindicated the sincerity of the Repeal members. There were thirty-seven Irish members pledged to Repeal, and thirty were absent, so that it would be madness to put the question to the vote.

Mr. Grattan said the Repeal members had abstained from bringing on the motion because they were most anxious not to exasperate the public mind under present circumstances.

Lord J. Russell, had the discussion come on, would have argued against repeal on the ground that the establishment of a separate legislature would lead to that very degradation so much deprecated—placing Ireland in the position of a province. At the end of the last century Ireland produced two men who were gifted with talents which fitted them for the government of mankind. The first was Mr. Burke, who had a seat in that House, and could take part in every imperial question; but, remarkable as his views were upon Irish subjects, he was compelled to express them in essays and pamphlets, as he was deprived of any influence or direction in the legislation with regard to Ireland. On the other hand, the talents of Mr. H. Grattan were lost on those great questions which must necessarily be decided by the legislature sitting at the centre of affairs.

The debate was adjourned to that day three months, the terms of Mr. Fox's motion not being in accordance with the forms of the House.

The English metropolis was agitated throughout this day by intelligence said to have been received by Mr. Conway, editor of the *Dublin Evening Post*, stating that the whole of the south of Ireland was in rebellion, and that fighting had taken place at Clonmel, Carrick, and Kilkenny, in all which places the military had been overpowered, and had moreover shewn symptoms of disaffection. In the House of Lords in the evening, however, the Marquis of Lansdowne said that Government had received letters from Dublin, dated as late as seven o'clock the evening before, and no mention whatever was made in them of any outbreak, and he believed the rumours were altogether unfounded; though he admitted an outbreak was to be feared in that quarter of the country.

—The Confederates and Chartists are organising clubs throughout the manufacturing districts of the north of England and in Scotland.

—The Confederate clubs of Dublin have voluntarily dissolved. Mr. W. Smith O'Brien reviewed the Kilkenny clubs on Monday. He is in the county of Tipperary, and declares he will not allow himself to be taken alive if the people stand to him.

FOREIGN.

Paris was perfectly tranquil. The bill affecting public meetings and clubs was adjourned, after a warm discussion on the final clause, which was opposed on account of its going beyond the severest laws of the Monarchy. The seals on the printing-office of the *Presse* had been taken off by a commissary of police. General Oudinot has departed to resume the command of the army of the Alps, and the question of intervention in Italy is said to be warmly agitated in the Cabinet.

Miscellaneous.

POWER OF ASSIGNMENT BY PROFESSED NUNS.—In the House of Lords, on Tuesday, judgment was given in the case of Cecilia Fulham, Catherine Lynch, and Maria McCarthy, v. Alexander McCarthy and others. This is the case in which two ladies, having entered into a convent, had made, as was usual, vows of obedience to the superiors, and had promised to convey to the society any property which should afterwards accrue to them. Their father dying intestate, they became entitled to a share of his property, and they executed deeds assigning their shares to two members of the Society to which they belonged. The family contested their power to do this; and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, doubting whether there were not traces of undue influence, ordered an issue to try whether the assignment had been made by the free will of the parties making it. The issue was declined, and the Irish Chancellor having then dismissed the bill, the case came before the House of Lords on appeal. The judgment turned on a point of law, the proper parties not having been made plaintiffs to the suit, so that the principle at issue is left undecided.

THE ARCHBISHOP-MARTYR.—The Archbishop of Paris expressed to the Vicars-General who surrounded his dying bed, a wish that some remembrance of him should be presented to the worthy Curé of Saint Antoine, to whose presbytery he was borne after his wound. In fulfilment of this wish, his administrators have presented to the Curé, a Christ in gilt-bronze, with the following inscription on the pedestal:

DENIS AUGUSTE AFFRE,
Archbishop of Paris,
mortally wounded at the entrance of the Faubourg St. Antoine,
25th June, 1848;
borne to the presbytery of Saint Antoine,
where he received the last Sacraments;
died the 27th June, 1848;
To M. Delamarre, Curé of Saint Antoine,
a token of gratitude.

THE CLERGY IN SPAIN.—The Minister of Grace and Justice has issued a circular addressed to the Archbishops, Bishops, and other ecclesiastical authorities, requiring them to name the most urgent wants of the various churches. The Government hopes that the Bishops and diocesan Prelates will endeavour to inculcate on the faithful a spirit of peace and conciliation as the natural result of their ministry, and as contributing to cement the harmony of the Church and State, and to consolidate the general tranquillity. On its part the Government will undertake the establishment of seminaries for the instruction of the clergy.

AGENTS FOR INDIA.

Calcutta: Colvin, Anslie, Cowie, and Co.; Rosario and Co.
Bombay: Woller and Co.; J. A. Briggs.
Madras: Binney and Co.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

ST. GEORGE'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, SOUTH-WARK.—On the SEVENTH SUNDAY after PENTECOST, JULY 30th, SERMONS will be preached in the above Church, in the Morning, by the Right Rev. Dr. MORRIS, Bishop of Troy; and in the Evening, after Vespers, at Half-past Six, by the Rev. F. OAKLEY, M.A. On the following THURSDAY (August 3), there will be Solemn Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament at Half-past Seven, P.M., with a Discourse by the Rev. Father PECCHERINE, Redemptorist.

ELEGANT TOILET REQUISITES, each of infallible attributes.—ROWLANDS' MACASSAR OIL is highly and universally appreciated for creating and sustaining luxuriant Tresses. ROWLANDS' KALYDOR is a preparation of unparalleled efficacy in improving and beautifying the Skin and Complexion; and ROWLANDS' ODOUR, or PEARL DENTIFRICE, is invaluable for its beautifying and preservative effects on the Teeth and Gums.

The august patronage conceded by our gracious Queen, and the several Sovereigns and Courts of Europe, and the confirmation by experience of the infallible efficacy of these creative renovating Specifics, have characterised them with perfection, and given them a celebrity unparalleled.

Beware of spurious imitations.—Some are offered under the implied sanction of Royalty and the Government Departments, with similar attempts at deception. The only genuine of each bears the Name of "ROWLANDS" preceding that of the Article on the Wrapper or Label.

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